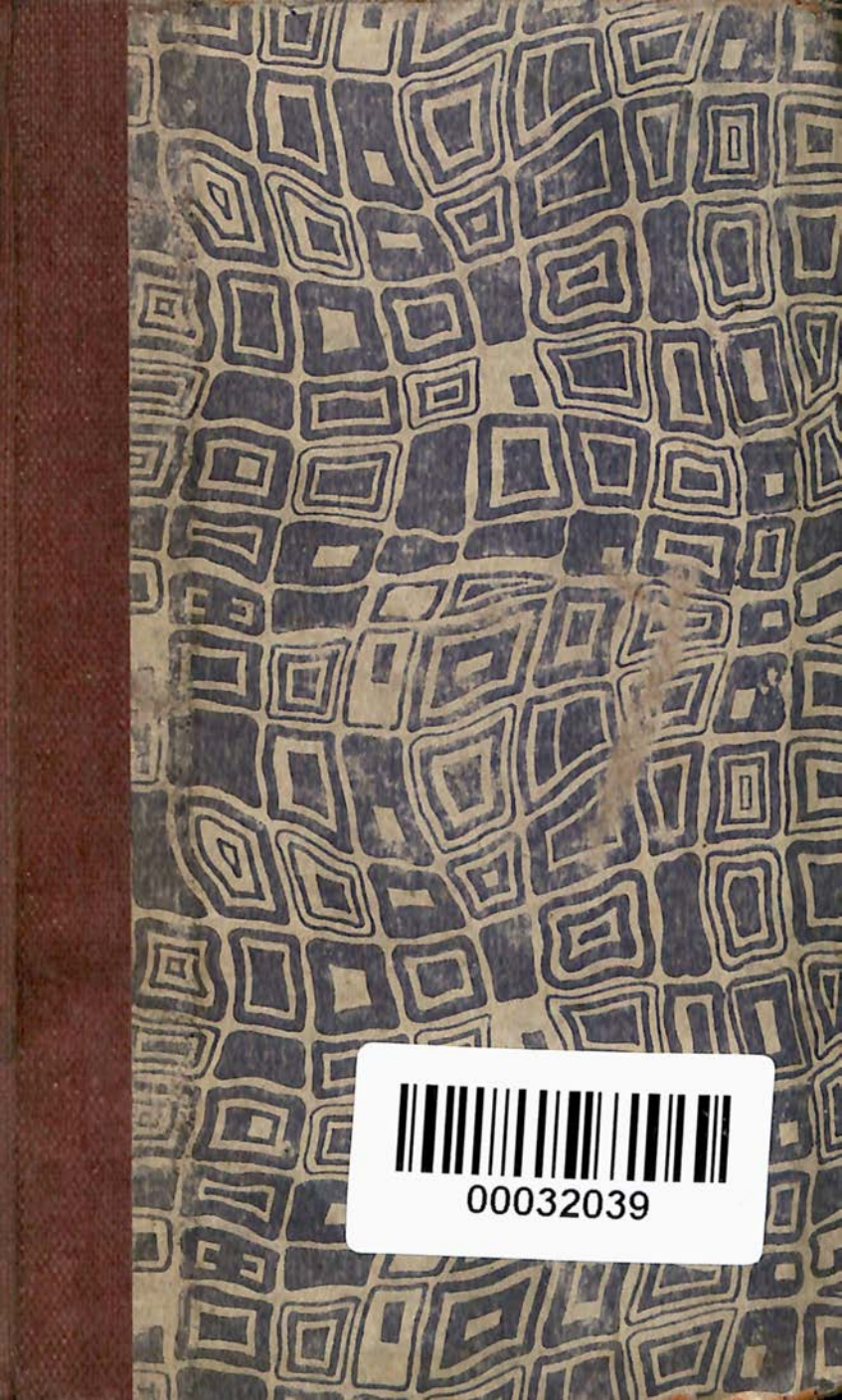
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A SHORT CRITICAL

# REVIEW

Of the POLITICAL LIFE of

# OLIVER CROMWELL,

LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Compriſed under the following Heads:

His deſcent, alliances, and firſt advances to popularity; with a view of the motives to the civil war, and the ſentiments of Mr. Locke and a Britiſh parliament concerning reſiſtance.

His military exploits, and wonderful ſucceſs in the civil wars, during the life of king Charles I.

His military actions after that king's death, during his government in Ireland.

His war againſt the Scots under king Charles II. till he totally routed them at Worceſter.

A view of his conduct towards king Charles I. with a vindication of him in many particulars.

His management towards the parliament, the army, and the parties he had to deal with, till he aſſumed the ſovereignty.

A view of his civil government, from his diſſolving the long parliament to his death.

His behaviour towards foreign princes and ſtates; his zeal for the honour of England, the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of mankind.

A ſummary of his character, and of that of king Charles I. with a parallel between them in ſuch points as will admit of it.

By the late JOHN BANKS, Eſq;

With an APPENDIX, containing many curious Pieces relating to the Hiſtory and Character of the LORD PROTECTOR.

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# PREFACE.

THE Author of the following Sheets, who profeſſes no attachment to any party, had often heard Oliver Cromwell applauded and condemned by the ſame gentlemen, almoſt in the ſame breath; or ſpoken of in the words of the noble hiſtorian, as a great wicked man. This made him inquiſitive into the life of ſo extraordinary a perſon; that he might know what was that ſeries of conduct which could make him deſerve ſo ſingular a character.

As this inquiry demanded ſome application, he began to think it might be made more generally uſeful than juſt to ſatisfy himſelf, and a few private friends, to whom he might communicate the reſult of it. This determined him to try the judgment of the public, in order to know how far what he ſhould think truth would take place; and whether a character ſo much declaimed againſt, might, at the diſtance of almoſt an hundred years, be ſuffered to ſtand the teſt of a fair examination.

To accompliſh this, he found it requiſite to give the matter a new form, very different from any it had hitherto appeared in: that by throwing together facts of a ſimilar nature, the picture might be view'd in all poſſible lights, with the greateſt advantage.

The firſt chapter diſcovers the origin of the civil war, which gave thoſe great talents an opportunity to exert themſelves. We were then to conſider Cromwell in his riſe to authority, and his exerciſe of it when in full poſſeſſion. In his riſe he appears under two different characters, as a ſoldier, and a politician. His actions under the firſt fill up

*three remarkable periods, each of them terminated by a triumphant return to his ſeat in parliament; which we have therefore divided into ſo many chapters. As a politician he had to deal with the king, the parliament, the army, and the predominant parties: his behaviour to all theſe is examined in two chapters, which make the fifth and the ſixth.*

*The adminiſtration at home, and influence abroad, are the two grand criteria of any government. We have ſurvey'd Cromwell's under both titles, and given a diſtinct chapter to each. The ninth and laſt contains ſome reflections on his character, with a parallel, which, however ungrateful it may ſound to ſome, can be ſupported from hiſtory. Other remarks will be found in the body of the work, all written with an honeſt freedom, and not intended to give offence.*

*It ſeems manifeſt from the whole, that Cromwell's character, however it has been miſrepreſented, is more capable of a vindication, than that of moſt other invaders of royalty, who are now ranked among the heroes of ancient and modern ſtory. Such a chain of events contributed to his advancement, that with ſuch great abilities, and ſo much ambition, it was hardly poſſible for him to be leſs than he was. Even Cæſar, whom he the moſt nearly repreſented, had not ſo fair a way open to the ſupreme power, as Cromwell had when he aſſumed it. But thoſe very cauſes which give him ſome right to a vindication, remove him intirely out of the reach of imitation. Nothing but ſuch a criſis as that wherein he did it (which has never yet had a parallel in hiſtory) could either ſupport or juſtify ſuch an attempt in any other.*

*As the ſucceſs of the firſt impreſſion of this work was much greater than the author expected, he thought it his duty to give the ſecond, which he is told has been long wanted, ſome conſiderable additions, and other neceſſary improvements, eſpecially in the article of authorities for what he had advanced. This he has done through the whole, ſometimes in the body of the work, and at other times in notes; but chiefly in the appendix now intirely added. Notwithſtanding that the book, by theſe means,*

*became*

*became more than twice as large as before, he thought it beſt to keep the old title of "Short Critical Review", that it might not ſeem to be a new work; and becauſe a much larger volume might have been writ upon a ſubject that affords ſuch an abundance of matter. All he has farther to ſay, is, that the proſe panegyric at the end of the whole contains only part of that printed in Latin; and in ſome places, where the ſpirit of the original appears, is very little altered from the tranſlation already publiſhed.*

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# REVIEW

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## CHAP. I.

*Reflections on party prejudices. Effects of them with regard to the parties concerned in the troubles of king Charles.* CROMWELL's *deſcent, alliances, and firſt advances to popularity; with a view of the motives to the civil war, and the ſentiments of Mr. Locke and a Britiſh parliament concerning reſiſtance.*

PUBLICK heats and animoſities are very aptly compared by an * author of the firſt reputation, to the heat contracted by a comet, in its approach to the ſun. When a people have been ſo unhappy as to fall into them, it is long before they recover their natural temper. We cannot judge

B

* Mr. Addiſon, in the Spectator.

judge, with any certainty, either of the merits of a cauſe, or of the perſons engaged in it, from the repreſentations of authors, who write while that fervour continues, by which themſelves have been generally affected. Hence it is, that the characters of men who act in a high capacity, are ſeldom impartially drawn till a long time after their ſphere of action is over, eſpecially by writers of their own country. Former concurrence and preſent approbation on the one hand; contracted prejudice and inveterate enmity on the other; opinion, intereſt, and the remains of paſſion on both, make it a taſk impoſſible, at leaſt too difficult for human nature in general, to enter ſincerely on the matter in queſtion. Affection riſes into reverence, reſentment dwindles into contempt, and hiſtories of the times immediately paſt are uſually either panegyrick or ſatire. The common people receive the impreſſions, made by the party which ſucceeds in power; and even reaſon and experience are found too weak, till after many years, to make things appear in their genuine light.

From theſe conſiderations, which have the experience of all ages to ſupport them, we may account for the different Pictures that are left us, of men who acted on the ſame principles, and with the ſame views; nay more, we may learn, why the villain in deſign, who has proſpered, has been called the father of his country, and the unproſperous hero and patriot neglected or martyr'd. How many brave and virtuous perſons, who boldly contended for the liberties of their fellow-citizens, have been branded with publick infamy, and ſuffered as rebels and traitors, only becauſe they have not ſucceeded in attempts, which would otherwiſe have crowned them with immortal honour? How many enemies of publick liberty, who had nothing in view but the gratification of their own ambition, and no pretence to ſuperiority but from their wealth and influence, have been complimented by thoſe very people, whoſe rights they had invaded and ſubverted, with pompous titles and extravagant

conceſſions;

conceſſions; which have afterwards, by their deſcendants, been made the foundation of another ſort of claim; that of divine appointment, and hereditary, indefeaſible right? It is true, future ages generally do juſtice to particular merit, where the traces of it are by any means preſerved. But when it has been faſhionable, for whole centuries together, to inſult the memory of any great perſon, it will not be eaſy for the moſt impartial writer, who can have only ſuch partial materials, to draw a picture worthy the original. It is therefore neceſſary, that we ſhould be as careful as poſſible in preſerving ſuch lineaments of public characters, while they can be known, as may enable poſterity to imitate the whole features, when truth ſhall venture to appear, and party and prejudice are no more.

§. 2. The revolutions in England, between the years 1640 and 1660, which, indeed, can hardly be paralleled in hiſtory, have been the ſource of more virulent parties than any other circumſtance in our chronicle. We need not wonder, if we are ſenſible of theſe diviſions, even at the diſtance of fourſcore years. We need not wonder, if the leading men on the country ſide, though in reality perſons of great abilities and virtue, were repreſented as a ſet of hypocritical ſcoundrels and blind enthuſiaſts, by the partizans of king Charles II. after that prince was reſtored to the dignity which he thought his natural inheritance, but which he had long been deprived of by the prevailing party. And, as the notions of divine right, and abſolute unlimited power, were afterwards carried to a great height during his and his brother's reign, by the court and the corrupt part of the clergy, it is not ſtrange, that the friends of liberty ſhould fall into contempt, and be ſtigmatized as ſo many enemies to government; that all the miſchiefs of a civil war, which a weak and miſguided king had been led into by his ambitious miniſters, ſhould be charged on thoſe principles which alone could preſerve a harmony between the ſovereign and his people. And

while the accuſation ran thus high in general, it was not likely that particular characters ſhould eſcape. Thoſe, eſpecially, who had been any way concerned in the adminiſtration of affairs during the king's exile, were to be ſtript of every humane virtue, and made to appear worſe than cannibals. Their ſobriety, temperance, juſtice, moderation, piety, were to be repreſented only as hypocriſy and affectation. Oliver Cromwell, to be ſure, muſt ſtand foremoſt in the black liſt. It was not enough to call him uſurper, tyrant, traitor; but even thoſe very perſonal qualities, which enabled him to aſſume and ſupport the firſt character in the age, were to be rendered ridiculous and contemptible, as well as odious. A very odd method of procedure this! to perſuade us that a man, without the capacity requiſite in a common juſtice of peace, ſhould be not only too hard for the whole royal family, but even for his own maſters, and all the miniſters and crowned heads with whom he had any thing to do: that a man without principle, or whoſe ſtanding principle was no better than this, * "that moral laws are binding only on ordinary occa-"ſions," ſhould be more exact and circumſpect in the adminiſtration of juſtice than any ſovereign who had gone before him; ſhould ſeek out capable and worthy men for all employments, more eſpecially for thoſe of the law, ſo as to give a general ſatisfaction. Yet all this, however, we have been taught to believe. Cromwell, it ſeems, was poſſeſſed of no real virtues, either civil or military; yet acted more like a perſon poſſeſſed of them all, than almoſt any other we can meet with in our ancient chronicles.

But facts are very ſtubborn things, and it is in vain to reſiſt their evidence. The moſt prejudiced hiſtorians on the other ſide, have related ſuch actions of our Britiſh hero, as ſhew their characters of him to be partially drawn; nay, even in the pictures of their own invention, they have not been able to avoid ſome lineaments

* Burnet's hiſtory.

lineaments that contradict the general idea they give of him, and ſhew him to be another ſort of a man than they are willing we ſhould believe. The preſent age begins to ſee through all this, and the name of Cromwell is now thought no diſhonour to the Engliſh nation. At this favourable conjuncture, therefore, when there are not wanting thoſe who wiſh our publick conduct, in particular with regard to a certain haughty, though contemptible people, were copied from that of this great man, I ſhall venture to draw together ſuch paſſages of his life, and range them under proper heads, as may ſhew what he really was, and remove, upon the principles of our beſt writers on the part of liberty, much of that load of calumny which he has hitherto borne. The taſk, I apprehend, will not be difficult.

§. 3. His aſſuming the regal power at a time when he did, will be conſidered in a chapter by itſelf. But it is neceſſary here to obviate one common objection; "That being born a private man, he could not, by any means, have a legal right to the ſovereignty over others at all." This maxim has been much contended for under eſtabliſhed hereditary monarchies, and might have been univerſally received, if reaſon and hiſtory did not prove it to be without foundation. But the moſt impartial diſquiſitions of the matter, founded on the common ſenſe and practice of mankind, have long ago convinced the wiſe and unprejudiced, that no individual, however nobly born, has a right over the perſon or property of another, except only from mutual compact, entered into for general benefit, the conditions of which are as obligatory on the governing, as on the governed parties. No man, therefore, in the nature of things, is any way ſuperior, or inferior to his fellow-citizens, but on ſuch conditions as they are ſuppoſed to have reciprocally conſented to. It is only to prevent the confuſion that riches, intereſt, or ambition might create, among perſons equally qualified, that the ſovereignty has been ſettled in particu-

lar families. It is in regard only to conveniency, that the ſucceſſion ſhould remain uninterrupted, as long as it can be conſiſtent with the good of the whole. But where this is infringed, diſpenſed with, ſuperſeded, the obligation is cancelled, the people are free, and may either chuſe a new form of government, or put their old into other hands. Where this has happened indeed, the choice, for very manifeſt reaſons, has uſually fallen on ſome one of the greateſt fortune and figure. But this cannot be attributed to any natural right in the perſon, unleſs we ſuppoſe authority to be the neceſſary conſequence of riches and intereſt; which would produce more confuſion than any other ſyſtem that has yet been advanced. In a word, the natural and moral qualifications of the perſon, where the election is entirely free, are the moſt probable recommendations to the community, whoſe conſent alone can conſtitute a lawful authority. If I can prove therefore, that Cromwell had more of theſe qualifications than any other man of his age, and as much of this conſent as was conſiſtent with the temper of the times, I ſhall do an act of juſtice to his memory, which ſeems to be hitherto wanting.

§. 4. This great man, notwithſtanding what ſome have ignorantly aſſerted, was very well deſcended *. The original name of his family was not Cromwell, but Williams. Morgan Williams, ſon and heir of Williams, married the ſiſter of the famous Lord Cromwell,

* He ſays thus of himſelf, in a ſpeech to the parliament, Sept. 12, 1654. "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any conſiderable height, nor yet in obſcurity. I have been called to ſeveral employments in the nation, and to ſerve in parliaments: and I did endeavour to diſcharge the duties of an honeſt man in thoſe ſervices." Mr. Milton calls his houſe "noble and illuſtrious;" and ſays "the name was formerly famous in the nation, when well

well, who was made Earl of Eſſex by king Henry VIII. By her he had a ſon named Richard, who was knighted by king Henry, and took the name of his uncle Cromwell, though he kept the arms of Williams. He married Frances, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Murſyn; and upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries, obtained all the lands that belonged to them in Huntingdonſhire, which amounted to a prodigious value. This Sir Richard Cromwell, at a ſolemn triumph held at Weſtminſter, anno 1540, before king Henry VIII. and which was proclaimed in France, Spain, Scotland, and Flanders, overthrew two of the combatants, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Cuſpey. He had a ſon, Henry, who was knighted by queen Elizabeth in the ſixth year of her reign. This Sir Henry married Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Ralph Warren, and reſided chiefly at Hinchingbrook, where had been a houſe of nuns. He is ſaid to have been a worthy gentleman, that lived in high eſteem both at court and in his country. The father of our protector, Robert Cromwell, Eſq; was ſecond ſon of Sir Henry. There were five more: Sir Oliver was the eldeſt, who had a vaſt eſtate, and after whom his nephew Oliver ſeems to be named: the others were Henry, Richard, Philip, and Ralph. We read of Sir Oliver, that at his houſe at Hinchingbrook, on the acceſſion of king James I. he made the moſt noble entertainment that ever had been made by a private ſubject in honour of his ſovereign.



" well governed by kings; but more famous for or-
" thodox religion, then either firſt reſtored or eſta-
" bliſhed among us." " He is well born, ſays an-
" other author, and of a noble and ancient extract."
*Unparalleled Monarch*, page 69. Father Orleans, in his hiſtory of the revolutions of England, expreſſes himſelf thus, " Cromwell was well enough born, not
" to be contemptible; and yet not ſo well as to be
" ſuſpected of aſpiring to ſovereignty."

But Mr. Robert Cromwell's eſtate was much inferior to his brother's. He had not above three hundred pounds a year, when his wife, daughter of Sir Richard Steward, brought him a ſon that was to have at his command the perſons and fortunes of three wealthy nations. It was on the 25th of April, 1599, that this prodigy was given to the world, at the town of Huntingdon, where his father then inhabited. The accounts we have of his youth are imperfect and unſatisfactory; for he never diſtinguiſhed himſelf till he was called upon to do it in a public capacity. We only learn, that his father took care of his education, ſending him when grown up, to Sidney-college in Cambridge, where he diſcovered more inclination to an active than a ſpeculative life: though there are proofs ſufficient that his advances in learning were not deſpicable, ſince they made him maſter of a genteel ſtile. It was owing, perhaps, to his turn for action, that we read of his running into ſome exceſſes, when he retired from Cambridge after his father's death; which occaſioned his mother to enter him at Lincoln's-Inn. The ſtudy of the law, however, did not long agree with him; and having five hundred pounds a year left him by his maternal uncle, Sir Richard Steward, over and above what he inherited from his father, he fixed entirely in the country, growing as remarkably ſober and religious, as he had been before vicious and extravagant. For ſome time after his reformation he adhered to the church of England, but at laſt fell in with the puritans.

§. 5. The grievances of the people were at this time many and great, occaſioned by the encroachments of the court and clergy, on almoſt every branch of civil and religious liberty. Cromwell's engagement on the puritan ſide, at his firſt coming into the houſe of commons, made him a warm ſtickler for the country intereſt. He was one of the committee of religion in king Charles's third parliament; and made himſelf taken notice

notice of on this occaſion by the people, as a perſon well affected to the legal conſtitution of his country. But what made him the moſt popular, was his oppoſition to an undertaking in which the king himſelf was concerned, for draining the fens in Lincolnſhire and the Iſle of Ely. At this time, by heading the town's people of Cambridge, he got to be elected one of their burgeſſes, to ſerve in the parliament of 1640, afterwards called the long parliament.

In this parliament he ſhewed himſelf a zealous and forward oppoſer of the publick grievances. The whole ſenate, indeed, were earneſtly bent on proſecuting the affair; and work enough they had on their hands. And as Cromwell's conduct herein was no ways different from that of the repreſentatives in general, I ſhall here, in order to his juſtification, give a character of that aſſembly, as drawn by an author who wrote at the requeſt of one of the royal family. I ſhall alſo, chiefly from the ſame writer, inſert a general view of the ſtate of the nation at that time, and of the cauſes of the unhappy breach that followed.

§. 6. * No age ever produced greater men than thoſe who ſat in that parliament: they had ſufficient abilities and inclinations to render the king and their country happy, if England had not been, thro' a chain of concurring accidents, ripened for deſtruction. At their ſitting down, a ſcene of grievances, under which we had long groaned, was laid open, and all topicks made uſe of to paint them out in the livelieſt colours. The many cruelties and illegal practices of the ſtar-chamber and high commiſſion courts, that had alienated peoples minds from the hierarchy, were now inſiſted on, to throw down thoſe two arbitrary tribunals; and with them, ſome time after, the biſhops out of the houſe of peers, and at length epiſcopacy itſelf out of the church. It was not a few of either houſe, but indeed all the great patriots, that concurred at firſt to make an enquiry



* Wellwood's Memoirs.

quiry into the grievances of this reign. Sir Edward Hide, afterwards earl of Clarendon, and lord chancellor of England; the lord Digby; the lord Falkland; the lord Capel; Mr. Grimſtone, who was choſen afterwards ſpeaker of the houſe of commons that brought in king Charles the ſecond, and was maſter of the rolls; Mr. Hollis, afterwards lord Hollis; and in general, moſt of thoſe who took the king's part in the ſucceeding war, were the men that appeared with the greateſt zeal for the redreſs of grievances, and made the ſharpeſt ſpeeches upon thoſe ſubjects. The intentions of thoſe gentlemen were certainly noble and juſt, and tended to the equal advantage of king and people: but the fate of England urged on its ruin ſtep by ſtep, till an open rupture between the king and parliament made the gap too wide ever to be made up again.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, and Dr. Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had too great a ſhare in the miniſtry, to eſcape being cenſured; and they were the firſt that felt the effects of a popular hatred. Theſe two gentlemen, and James duke of Hamilton, firſt adviſed king Charles to call this parliament; and all three fell by it, tho' not at the ſame time. King Charles now, from the neceſſity of the times, did every thing to ſatisfy the parliament: he paſſed the bill for attainting the earl of Strafford, tho' with reluctancy, as believing he deſerved not ſuch hard meaſure: he took away monopolies, that had been a diſcouragement to trade: he expreſſed himſelf to their contentment in the matters of loan, ſhip-money, tonage and poundage, and other unwarrantable methods that had been uſed in raiſing money; and ſhewed a ſettled reſolution to comply with them, in every thing that might tend to the eaſe and ſecurity of the ſubject. As in the preceding parliament he had paſſed the petition of right, ſo in the beginning of this, he had agreed to the acts for triennial parliaments, and for aboliſhing the ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion courts, which had been great grievances; and with chearfulneſs paſſed that act which ſeem'd inconſiſtent with his own juſt prerogative,

tive, "That that parliament ſhould not be diſſolved but by act of parliament; nor prorogued or adjourned but by their own conſent."

The king having, upon theſe conceſſions, received the thanks of both houſes, and the loud applauſes of his people, took a journey to Scotland in Auguſt, 1641, to ſettle matters there, that required his preſence; that kingdom having juſt before been at war with England, on account of the grievances there introduced. He left the parliament ſitting, which they continued to do for ſome time, and then adjourned themſelves to October following. At the king's going away, affairs had been already ſettled betwixt the two kingdoms by an act of pacification, and both armies ordered to be diſbanded, the Scots returning home for that purpoſe.

§. 7. But while the king was in Scotland, the Iriſh rebellion broke out, which became a new bone of contention between him and the parliaments of both nations. He ſeemingly took meaſures in Scotland about ſuppreſſing that rebellion, and is ſaid to have made haſte back to England to concert with the parliament concerning it. He did not act, however, with ſo much vigour, as to convince every one of his ſincerity in the affair: and it appeared that the queen, who very much governed his majeſty, kept up a correſpondence with lord Antrim, one of the chief agents in that bloodſhed. Nevertheleſs the king was received in London, at his return, with all demonſtrations of affection. The lord mayor and aldermen, the nobility, gentry, and train'd-bands, met him without the city, and conducted him in great ſtate, amid the acclamations of the people, the city companies lining the ſtreets on each ſide, to Guildhall, where he was royally feaſted, and after dinner conducted with the ſame pomp to Whitehall. "What man, ſays Dr. Wellwood, that had ſeen a "prince thus received into his capital city, could have "imagined that within leſs than ſeven weeks he ſhould "be obliged to leave it upon the account of tumults, "never to ſee it again, but as a priſoner brought thi-

" ther to die upon a ſcaffold? yet this was king " Charles's hard fortune."

The houſe of commons had begun ſome few days before his return, to fall into heats about innovations in religion; the rebellion in Ireland; plots ſaid to be laid in Scotland; the diſabling of the clergy to exerciſe temporal juriſdiction; and excluding the biſhops from votes in parliament: all which matters, together with ſome reports that were ſpread about of ſome deſigns againſt the parliament, led the houſe into that remarkable petition and remonſtrance of the ſtate of the nation, in which they repeated all the miſmanagements in the government ſince the king's coming to the throne, and attributed all to evil counſels and counſellors, and a malignant party about the king. The billeting of ſoldiers contrary to law, the diſſolution and ſuſpenſion of parliaments, the ſevere impriſonment of ſeveral members, the raiſing of money by unparliamentary ways, violent proſecutions for non-payment, arbitrary proceedings in the courts of law, the late behaviour and doctrines of the high-flown clergy, continuance of thoſe abuſes ſince the late conceſſions, were ſome of the topicks inſiſted on. This remonſtrance met with great oppoſition in the houſe, the debate laſting from * three o'clock in the afternoon till ten o'clock the next morning, when it paſſed by a ſmall majority. It was preſented to his majeſty the eighth day after his return from Scotland. This petition and remonſtrance, together with the king's anſwer to them at their delivery, and the declaration which he publiſhed at large afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, contain the matters of almoſt all thoſe fatal differences, that came, within a very ſhort time after they were drawn up, to be decided by the ſword. But they being very long, and to be met with in moſt hiſtories of that time, I ſhall not ſwell this volume with them.

§. 8. Crom-

* This is Wellwood's account: others ſay, from nine one morning till three the next, which ſeems moſt probable by what follows.

§. 8. Cromwell was a great promoter of this remonſtrance; and we have this remarkable paſſage concerning him, while it was in agitation. A day having been appointed for retaking it into conſideration, upon its not being called for till late, the matter was put off till next morning. Cromwell, hereupon, aſked the lord Falkland, why he was for deferring it, ſince that day would have put an end to the buſineſs. His lordſhip anſwered, "There will not be time enough; for ſure it will take up ſome debate." To which the other replied, "A very ſorry one;" concluding it would be oppoſed by very few. But the day after it was over, when upon ſo hard a ſtruggle it paſſed only by a majority of nine, lord Falkland aſked Mr. Cromwell if there had been a debate. "Yes, ſaid he, and I will take your word another time." Then whiſpering in the lord Falkland's ear, he added, "If the remonſtrance had not paſſed, I would have ſold all I had the next morning, and have never ſeen England more; and I know many other honeſt men that were of the ſame reſolution."

Some years before this, indeed, on account of the ſevere proceedings of archbiſhop Laud againſt the puritans, Cromwell had formed a deſign, together with ſeveral other gentlemen of fortune and worth, to go to the American plantations; which deſign they were very near putting in execution, being only prevented by a proclamation and order of council, when they were actually embarked, in order to tranſport themſelves. This ſhews, that Cromwell, at that time, as well as the other * excellent perſons before-mentioned, acted entirely from a principle of conſcience in his oppoſition againſt the court, which, without diſpute, had been guilty of numberleſs oppreſſions: and by theſe means his reputation increaſed, both in the houſe and without, as a ſteady and zealous patriot.

§. 9.

* The famous Mr. John Hampden was one of that number.

§. 9. † Things were now going faſt on towards leſſening the confidence betwixt the king and parliament: and yet there were not wanting endeavours, on both ſides, to accommodate matters by ſoft and healing methods, when the king's coming to the houſe of commons in perſon, to demand ‡ five of their members, whom he had ordered the day before to be impeached of high treaſon, put all into a combuſtion, and gave occaſion to the houſe to aſſert their privileges with a greater warmth than ever. This was the moſt unlucky ſtep king Charles could have made at this juncture: and the indiſcretion of ſome that attended the king to the lobby of the houſe, was inſiſted upon as an argument that the king was reſolved to uſe violence upon the parliament. Theſe five members had hardly time to make their eſcape, juſt when the king was entering; and upon his going away, the houſe adjourn'd in a flame for ſome days, ordering a committee to ſit at Guildhall in the mean time, as if they were not ſafe at Weſtminſter.

Whoever they were that adviſed the king to this raſh attempt, are juſtly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards ſpilt; for this ſudden action was the firſt and viſible ground of all our following miſeries. It was beleived, that if the king had found the five members in the houſe, and had called in his guards to ſeize them, the houſe would have endeavoured their defence, and oppoſed force to force; which might have endangered the king's perſon. But the conſequences were bad enough without this; for immediately upon it there was nothing but confuſion and tumults, fears and jealouſies every where, which ſpread themſelves to Whitehall in the rudeſt manner: ſo that his majeſty not thinking himſelf ſafe there, retired with his family to Hampton-court.

The

† Wellwood.

‡ Theſe five members were, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, afterwards lord Hollis, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, and Mr. Strode: lord Kimbolton was alſo accuſed by his majeſty of the ſame crimes.

The king leaving his parliament in this manner, there were ſcarce any hopes of a thorough reconciliation. But when, after a great many removes from place to place, his majeſty came to ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, there enſued a fatal and bloody war, which, it is reaſonable to believe, was never deſigned at firſt by either ſide.

§. 10. I ſhall not give a particular account of this war, but take notice only of ſuch facts in which Cromwell was perſonally concerned, as help to ſet his character in a clear light. But having ſaid thus much concerning the motives and beginning of it, I ſhall add a few reflections of the great * Mr. Locke, in defence of ſubjects taking arms againſt their prince; and leave it to the reader's determination, how far they regard the preſent caſe, and may be urged in vindication of Cromwell, and the other members of this famous parliament.

"Whereſoever law ends, ſays this excellent reaſoner, tyranny begins, if the law be tranſgreſſed to another's harm. And whoever in authority exceeds the power given him by law, and makes uſe of the force he has under his command, to compaſs that upon the ſubject which the law allows not, ceaſes in that to be a magiſtrate; and acting without authority, may be oppoſed, as any other man, who invades the right of another. This is acknowledged in ſubordinate magiſtrates. He that hath authority to ſeize my perſon in the ſtreet, may be oppoſed as a thief or a robber, if he endeavours to break into my houſe to execute a writ, notwithſtanding that I know he has ſuch a warrant, and ſuch a legal authority, as will impower him to arreſt me abroad. And why this ſhould not hold in the higheſt, as well as in the moſt inferior magiſtrate, I would gladly be informed. Is it reaſonable that the elder brother, becauſe he has the greateſt part of his father's eſtate, ſhould thereby have a right to

* In his ſecond eſſay on government, ch. xviii.

to take away any of his younger brother's portions? or, that a rich man, who poſſeſſed a whole country, ſhould from thence have a right to ſeize, when he pleaſed, the garden and cottage of his poor neighbour? The being rightfully poſſeſſed of great power and riches, exceedingly beyond the greateſt part of the ſons of Adam, is ſo far from being an excuſe, much leſs a reaſon for rapine and oppreſſion, which the endamaging another without authority is, that it is a great aggravation of it: for the exceeding the bounds of authority is no more a right in a great, than in a petty officer, no more juſtifiable in a king than a conſtable; but is ſo much the worſe in him, in that he has more truſt put in him, has already a much greater ſhare than the reſt of his brethren, and is ſuppoſed, from the advantage of his education, employment, and counſellors, to be more knowing in the meaſure of right or wrong."

And in another * place, ſpeaking of the chimerical notion of reſiſtance with reverence, and without retribution or puniſhment, he ſays, "How to reſiſt force without ſtriking again, or how to ſtrike with reverence, will need ſome ſkill to make intelligible. He that ſhall oppoſe an aſſault only with a ſtick to receive the blows, or in any more reſpectful poſture, without a ſword in his hand, to abate the confidence and force of the aſſailant, will quickly be at an end of his reſiſtance, and will find ſuch a defence only to draw on himſelf the worſe uſage.—He therefore who may reſiſt, muſt be allowed to ſtrike, and then let any one join a knock on the head, or a cut on the face, with as much reverence and reſpect as he thinks fit. He that can reconcile blows and reverence, may, for aught I know, deſerve for his pains a civil reſpectful cudgelling, where-ever he can meet with it.—It is true an inferior, generally ſpeaking, cannot reſiſt a ſuperior. But to reſiſt force with force being the ſtate of war, that levels the parties, cancels all former relations of reverence, reſpect, and ſuperiority: and then the odds that remains

* Chap. xix.

mains is, that he who oppoſes the unjuſt aggreſſor, has this ſuperiority over him, and he has a right, when he prevails, to puniſh the offender, both for the breach of peace, and all the events that followed upon it."

A little farther he proceeds thus: "Here, 'tis like, the common queſtion will be made, Who ſhall be judge, whether the prince or legiſlature act contrary to their truſt? This, perhaps, ill-affected and factious men may ſpread among the people, when the prince only makes uſe of his juſt prerogative. To this I reply, The people ſhall be judge; for who ſhall be judge, whether his truſtee or deputy acts well, and according to the truſt repoſed in him, but he who deputes him, and muſt, by having deputed him, have ſtill a power to diſcard him, when he fails in his truſt? If this be reaſonable in particular caſes of private men, why ſhould it be otherwiſe in that of the greateſt moment, where the welfare of millions is concerned; and alſo, where the evil, if not prevented, is greater, and the redreſs very difficult, dear, and dangerous?".

§. 11. But we have a ſtill greater authority than that of any private man, to vindicate the proceedings of the long parliament. That very convention which brought in king Charles II. tho' ready to run mad with loyalty, would not ſuffer any reflection on the conduct of their brethren, except only in the article of deſtroying the king.

* Mr. William Lenthal, who had been ſpeaker of the long parliament, and was a member of the reſtoring one, happened to drop this expreſſion, in the debate about the general pardon: "He who firſt drew his ſword againſt the late king, committed as great an offence, as he who cut off his head." Upon which he was ſeized by the ſerjeant, and Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, by order of the houſe of commons, reprimanded him in the following words. "Sir, the houſe hath taken great offence at ſome words you have let fall in this

* Critical hiſtory of England, Vol. II.

this debate; which in their judgments, contain as high a reflection on the juſtice and proceedings of the lords and commons of the laſt parliament in their actings, before 1648, as could be expreſſed. They apprehend there is much poiſon in the ſaid words, and that they were ſpoken out of a deſign to inflame, and to render them who drew the ſword, to bring delinquents to puniſhment, and to aſſert their juſt liberties, into a balance with them who cut off the king's head."

Thus, ſays the author who gives us this paſſage, are all the lord Clarendon's and Mr. Echard's reflections on thoſe actings declared to be highly injurious; and the hiſtory of England, and that of the grand rebellion, which treat that glorious parliament as rebels, are condemned in the moſt ſolemn manner, by the declaration of the houſe of commons, pronounced by their ſpeaker. After which, I think all future critics upon them would be ſuperfluous and needleſs.

## CHAP. II.

CROMWELL's *military exploits, and wonderful ſucceſs, in the civil wars, during the life of king Charles the firſt.*

§. 1. WHEN the differences between the king and parliament were come to an open rupture, the active genius of Cromwell would not ſuffer him to be an idle ſpectator. He got a captain's commiſſion from the commons, and immediately raiſed a troop of horſe in his own country. They conſiſted of ſelect men, whoſe bravery he proved by the following ſtratagem. He placed about twelve of them in an ambuſcade, near one of the king's garriſons, who advancing furiouſly towards the body, as if they had been of the enemy's party, put ſome of their raw companions to the flight. Theſe he immediately caſhiered, and filled their places with others of more courage.

Other

Other men, in what profeſſion ſoever, have generally advanced very ſlowly, or by ſome other means than pure merit, to the higheſt dignities. But this was not Cromwell's caſe: his advances from a captain to a lieutenant-general were ſo ſudden, that they could not but ſurpriſe all that were witneſſes to them. His ſecuring the town of Cambridge, when the college-plate was upon the point of being ſent to the king at Oxford, and his taking Sir Thomas Conneſby, high-ſheriff of Hertfordſhire, juſt as he was going to St. Alban's, to proclaim the parliament-commanders all traitors, were ſuch actions as procured him the thanks of the houſe, and ſoon after recommended him to the dignity of a colonel. In this poſt, having raiſed a thouſand horſe by his own intereſt, he obſtructed the levies for the king in Cambridgeſhire, Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, with incredible diligence: he alſo defeated the project of a counter-aſſociation on the king's ſide, contrived by Sir John Pettus and others, by ſurpriſing the parties in the town of Leſtoff, and ſeizing all their proviſions and ſtores: then, going to convoy ſome ammunition from Warwick to Glouceſter, he by the way took Hiſden-houſe, made Sir Alexander Denton, the owner, and many others, priſoners, obtained a large booty, and gave an alarm to Oxford itſelf.

§. 2. Being now made lieutenant-general to the earl of Mancheſter, he levy'd more forces. With theſe marching towards Lincolnſhire, he diſarmed the parliament's enemies by the way, relieved captain Wray, who was diſtreſſed by the Newarkers, made a great ſlaughter, and took three troops. Afterwards meeting with twenty-four of the king's troops near Grantham, he with ſeven troops only entirely routed them.

Lord Willoughby of Parham having got poſſeſſion of Gainſborough for the parliament, colonel Cavendiſh was ſent by his brother, the earl of Newcaſtle, with a great party of horſe, to ſummon it. Cromwell attacked him with only twelve troops, near the town; and

and though Cavendiſh had three times the number men, and prodigious advantage of ſituation, his party was entirely routed, and himſelf killed, among a great number of other officers. " This, ſays Whitlock, was the beginning of Cromwell's great fortunes; and now he began to appear in the world. He had a * brave regiment of horſe of his countrymen, moſt of them freeholders, and freeholders ſons, who upon matter of conſcience engaged in the quarrel under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the ſatisfaction of their own conſciences, and without by

* At a general muſter in 1644, no men appeared ſo full, and well armed, and civil; as Colonel Cromwell's horſe did.

Bate ſays, that " Cromwell uſed them daily to look after, feed, and dreſs their horſes, and, when it was neceſſary, to lie together on the ground; and beſides taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for ſervice; to chuſe the beſt armour, and to arm themſelves to the beſt advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exerciſe, they excelled all their fellow-ſoldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. Theſe were afterwards preferred to be commanders and officers in the army; and their places filled up with luſty ſtrong fellows, whom he brought up in the ſame ſtrictneſs of diſcipline."

But the fulleſt and beſt authority for what is here advanced, may be found in Cromwell's own words, as quoted by the Reverend Mr. Peck from his conference on the parliament's deſiring him to take on him the title of king. " I was a perſon that from my firſt employment was ſuddenly preferred and lifted up from leſſer truſts to greater. From my firſt being captain of a troop of horſe, I did labour, as well as I could, to diſcharge my truſt; and God bleſſed me, as it pleaſed him. I had a very worthy friend then, Mr. John Hampden, and he was a very noble perſon, and I know

by good iron arms, they would as one man ſtand firmly, and charge deſperately." He was obliged, however, after this victory, to retreat the ſame night to Lincoln; which he did in good order, and marched the next day to the earl of Mancheſter at Boſton. Colonel Cavendiſh's troops rallying, after the death of their leader, and joining the earl of Newcaſtle, Cromwell thought it not prudent to engage againſt ſuch prodigious odds; ſo drew off with all the conduct of an experienced general.

His next action was againſt Sir John Henderſon, an old commander, at the head of eighty-ſeven troops. They

I know his memory is very grateful to all. At my firſt going out into this engagement, I ſaw our men were beaten on every hand: I did indeed; and deſired him that he would make ſome additions to my lord Eſſex's army of ſome new regiments; and I told him it would be ſerviceable to him in bringing ſuch men in, as I thought had a ſpirit that would do ſomething in the work. Your troops, ſaid I, are moſt of them old decayed ſerving-men and tapſters, and ſuch kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemens ſons, younger ſons, and perſons of quality: and do you think that the ſpirit of ſuch baſe and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and reſolution in them? You muſt get men of a ſpirit, and (take it not ill what I ſay) of a ſpirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or elſe I am ſure you will be beaten ſtill. I told him ſo. He was a wiſe and worthy perſon, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him, I could do ſomewhat in it. And I raiſed ſuch men as had the fear of God before them, and made ſome conſcience of what they did. And from that day forwards they were never beaten, but whenever they engaged againſt the enemy, they beat continually." Peck's memoirs of the life and actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 52. in the notes.

They met near Horn-caſtle, at a place called Windſby-field. Here Cromwell was in great danger, having his horſe killed in the firſt ſhock, and being ſtruck down again as he attempted to riſe. But his good fortune ſtill protected him; in about an hour the royaliſts were routed, the lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and other perſons of quality, with about fifteen hundred ſoldiers, and inferior officers, were left dead on the field, very few being loſt on the parliament ſide. Many priſoners, arms, and horſes, were taken; and it was in conſequence of this victory, that the earl of Mancheſter made himſelf maſter of Lincoln.

§. 3. Soon after this followed the battle of Marſton-moor. The parliament army, under the earl of Mancheſter, lord Fairfax, and general Leven, had been obliged by prince Rupert to raiſe the ſiege of *York*. His highneſs, not contented with this advantage, reſolved to give them battle, and accordingly came up with them at the above-mentioned place. In the engagement, the left wing of the royal army, commanded by the prince in perſon, put to flight the parliament's right wing, and in it the ſaid three generals. But the prince purſuing them too far, Cromwell, who commanded the left wing, found means to draw over the victory to his ſide, and get the whole honour of it to himſelf. He engaged cloſely the earl of Newcaſtle, who had before only cannonaded at a diſtance, and the action on both ſides was warm and deſperate. The horſe having diſcharged their piſtols, flung them at each other's heads, and then fell to it with their ſwords. But after a very obſtinate diſpute, Cromwell's ſuperior genius prevailed, and the king's right wing was totally routed. And now the prince returning with his victorious party, was alſo charged at unawares, and entirely defeated, by the reſerve of Cromwell's brigade.

In this action, above four thouſand of the king's forces were ſlain, and fifteen hundred taken priſoners, among whom were above a hundred perſons of diſtinc-

tion;

tion, and conſiderable officers. All their artillery, great number of ſmall arms, and much ammunition, together with the prince's own ſtandard, were alſo taken: the parliamentarians loſing not above three hundred men. The whole glory of it is univerſally aſcribed to Cromwell, who, according to ſome, was abſent when Mancheſter, Fairfax, and Leven, were put in confuſion, being gone off to have a wound dreſſed, which he received at the firſt charge: but returning to his poſt, he ſhewed what good ſenſe united with valour could do; for by his own proweſs he inſpired the troops with freſh courage, and immediately gave a new turn to the fortune of the day. For his behaviour in this memorable battle, which was fought on the ſecond of July 1644, Cromwell gained the name of Ironſides, alluding to his invincible bravery, and the impenetrable ſtrength of his troops. The conſequences on the king's ſide were, diſſenſion and ſeparation between the prince and his confederates, and ſoon after the ſurrender of the city of York, by Sir Thomas Glenham.

I am very ſenſible that Sir William Dugdale, in his ſhort view of the late troubles, and lord Hollis, in his memoirs, have accuſed Cromwell of egregious cowardice, the former in the battle of Edge-hill, and the latter in this battle of Marſton-moor: but as they both do it only on hearſay, and were beſides profeſſed enemies of our commander, and as all the concurrent and ſubſequent facts and circumſtances, in particular his great reputation from this time, entirely contradict and overthrow every calumny of that nature, it is certainly needleſs to uſe any other means to wipe off their aſperſions.

§. 4. In fact Cromwell began now to be ſo very much taken notice of, that ſome dreaded, others envy'd, and all admir'd him. It is reported, that the character given of him to the king by archbiſhop Williams, made ſuch an impreſſion on his majeſty, that he was heard to ſay, "I would ſome one would

do

do me the good ſervice to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead." The earl of Eſſex grew jealous of him: the Scotch commiſſioners, * at his inſtigation, held a conference with ſome of the parliament's members, how to get rid of him, in which he was vehemently accuſed by the chancellor of Scotland. He had alſo a difference with the earl of Mancheſter, whom he accuſed of cowardice at the ſecond battle of Newbury, which ended in an irreconcileable breach between them. Yet, amidſt all his enemies and rivals, Cromwell ſtill carry'd his point, ſo far, that when the army was new modelled, by what was called the ſelf-denying ordinance, which excluded all members of parliament from military poſts, he continued a ſingle exception to this general law, and kept his command, when the earls of Eſſex, Mancheſter, Denbigh, and Warwick, the lord Grey of Groby, Sir William Waller, major-general Maſſey, and many others, were removed from theirs. Of ſuch importance did his ſervices now appear, that envy and oppoſition could have no effect againſt him, though promoted by perſons in the higheſt ſtations.

I do not pretend to give a regular narrative of all the actions of this great man, and therefore ſhall haſten over thoſe of leſs moment; ſuch as his defeat of the earl of Northampton and lord Goring at Iſlipbridge; his taking Bletchington-houſe, for the ſurrender of which colonel Windebank was ſhot to death at Oxford; his taking Sir William Vaughan, and lieutenant-colonel Littleton, with moſt of their men, priſoners; his ſtorming of Faringdon-houſe, where he was repulſed by Sir George Liſle: it is ſufficient to take notice, that a little before the battle of Naſeby he was appointed † lieutenant-general of the horſe, notwith-

* Vide Chap. VI.

† This was in conſequence of ſome letters from the chief officers of horſe to the parliament, deſiring that colonel Cromwell might be lieutenant general of the horſe,

notwithſtanding the ſelf-denying ordinance, and the complaints of thoſe gentlemen upon whoſe ruins he was now viſibly raiſing. Whitelock informs us, that he now began to increaſe in the favour of the people, and of the army, and to grow great to the envy of many.

There is a paſſage in the Portugueſe embaſſador's panegyrick to the protector, which I cannot help inſerting here. "A way being made, ſays the author, thro' the inferior poſts, he roſe to be lieutenant-general of the army; where, with a ſingular prerogative of experience, acquired through all the military offices, he ſo ſuited himſelf to all perſons, that he ſeemed to be born only to that truſt which he then exerciſed. He commanded both the horſe and foot forces with the ſame eaſe, though in their uſe and ordering ſo different from each other; and performed ſuch great and wonderful things with the help of each, that he made it a doubt, which of them may be of the moſt ſervice in an engagement, ſince it was evident that both ſtood in need of ſo great a captain for the gaining of thoſe happy ſucceſſes which he won in battle.*"

§. 5. Fairfax was the parliament's chief general, in the room of the earl of Eſſex. Cromwell joined him and the main army at Gilſborough, bringing with him ſix hundred horſe and dragoons. The king, having been ſome time at Borough-hill, drew off from thence towards Harborough, and deſigned to march to Pomfret; thinking, if he were followed by the parliament's forces, he ſhould fight with greater

horſe under Sir Thomas Fairfax. After ſome debate, ſays Whitelock, the houſe ordered, "That Sir Thomas Fairfax ſhould appoint Cromwell to command the horſe under him as lieutenant-general, if he thought fit."

† Memoirs, &c. p. 52. This piece is ſuppoſed to have been written by Milton.

advantage northward. But Ireton, by Cromwell's advice, being ſent out with a flying party of horſe, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quartered in Naſeby town, and took many priſoners, being ſome of prince Rupert's life-guard, and Langdale's brigade. This gave ſuch an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at midnight left his own quarters, and for ſecurity haſtened to Harborough, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince Rupert, he ſummoned a council of war, in which it was reſolved (chiefly through the prince's eagerneſs, the old commanders being much againſt it) to give the enemy battle; and ſince Fairfax had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him, but ſeek him out. Accordingly, being come near Naſeby, there they found him; and both armies being drawn up in battalia, faced each other. The princes Rupert and Maurice commanded the right wing of the royal army, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himſelf the main body; the earl of Lindſay and Jacob lord Aſtley, the right-hand reſerve; and the lord Bard and Sir George Liſle, the left reſerve. The right wing of the parliament's army was held by lieutenant-general Cromwell, the left by colonel Ireton, the main body by general Fairfax and major-general Skippon, who fought ſtoutly, though ſeverely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reſerves were brought up by Rainſborough, Hammond, and Pride. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-weſt ſide of Naſeby, above a mile broad; which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

All things being diſpoſed, on the 14th of June, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more than civil rage; the royal word being, "God and queen Mary," and the others, "God with us." Prince Rupert gave the firſt charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great reſolution. Ireton made gallant reſiſtance, but was forced at laſt to give ground, the horſe being ſhot under him, and himſelf

run

.en through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken priſoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regained his liberty. The prince chaſed the enemy to Naſeby-town, and in his return ſummoned the train, and viſited his carriages, where was good plunder. But here, as in the battle of Marſton-moor, his long ſtay ſo far from the main body, was no ſmall prejudice to the king's army.

For Cromwell, in the mean time, charged furiouſly on the king's left wing, and that with good ſucceſs, forcing them from the body; and proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reſerve. After which, joining with Fairfax, he charged the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's, and got poſſeſſion of their ordnance, and thought themſelves ſure of victory; but being now in confuſion, and having no horſe to ſupport them, they were eaſily over-borne by Fairfax, and Cromwell. By this time the king was joined by prince Rupert, returned from his fatal ſucceſs; but the horſe could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to charge the enemy.

Upon this, lord Clarendon ſays, "that this difference was obſerved all along in the diſcipline of the king's troops, and thoſe commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell (it having never been remarkable under Eſſex and Waller, but only under them) though the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed thoſe they charged, they ſeldom rally'd themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond charge the ſame day; which was the reaſon they had not an entire victory at Edge-hill: whereas the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, preſently rally'd again, and ſtood in good order, till they received farther directions.

And the glory of all that happened under Fairfax, ought, according to moſt writers, to be aſcribed ſolely to Cromwell. Father Orleans ſays, "Fairfax his birth, ſervice, courage, and warlike temper, ſufficiently qualified him to repreſent a prime actor: his mean capa-

city and want of foreſight (which made him active without thought, though heavy and hypochondriac) made him fit to receive the impreſſions given him by another, and be guided by Cromwell. Thus Fairfax made the ſhow, and Cromwell managed all. The former being as pliable as he was ambitious, the latter ruled by appearing ſubmiſſive." Agreeably to which we find the panegyriſt before quoted expreſſing himſelf thus of Cromwell; "Whatever military honours he bore, he moſt religiouſly obeyed his ſuperiors in them all; in atchieving the moſt gallant acts, he gave the glory of all the conduct to the chief generals, and that with ſuch a modeſty, that he bound them moſt ſtrongly to himſelf, and obtain'd the admiration of all. Becauſe a conqueſt of himſelf, is ever reckon'd more honourable in a ſoldier, than to triumph over the enemy. For this and his other virtues Fairfax valued him at ſo high a rate, that he would take no cognizance of the greateſt affairs, becauſe he would leave them intirely to Cromwell: and Cromwell, in thoſe things which he himſelf only performed, and gave an account of to the parliament, ſtill made Fairfax the author."

In fine, with all that the king and the prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which ſtood in ſufficient numbers upon the place: ſo that they were forced at laſt to quit the field, leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who purſued them within two miles of Leiceſter; and the king finding the purſuit ſo hot, fled from thence to Aſhby-de-la-Zouch, and then to Litchfield, and for a ſafer retreat into Wales.

Thus ended the famous battle of Naſeby, in which the wonderful ſucceſs of the parliament's party was chiefly owing to Cromwell's valour and good conduct, who flew like lightening from one part of the army to the other, and broke through the enemy's ſquadrons with ſuch rapidity, that nothing either could or durſt ſtop him. 'Tis ſaid, that in this action a commander of the king's knowing Cromwell, advanced briſkly

briſkly from the head of his troops, to exchange a ſingle bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both ſides forbearing to come in; till their piſtols being diſcharged, the cavalier, with a ſlanting back blow of a broad ſword, chanced to cut the ribbon that held Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now, juſt as he was going to repeat his ſtroke, Cromwell's party came in and reſcued him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his ſaddle, which he haſtily catching, clapped it on the wrong way, and ſo bravely fought with it the reſt of the day, which proved ſo very fortunate on his ſide.

The king's loſs in this battle was irreparable; for beſides that there were ſlain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, moſt of his foot were taken priſoners, with all his cannon and baggage, eight thouſand arms, and other rich booty; among which was alſo his majeſty's own cabinet, where were repoſited his moſt ſecret papers, and letters between him and his queen, which ſhewed how contrary his counſels with her were to thoſe he declared to the kingdom. Many of theſe, relating to the publick, were printed with obſervations, and kept upon record, by order of the two houſes; who alſo made a publick declaration of them, ſhewing what the nobility and gentry, who followed the king, were to expect; but of theſe letters, and his majeſty's inſincerity in other particulars, we ſhall have occaſion to take notice in a following chapter.

§. 6. I have inſerted a particular deſcription of this battle, as I find it in the hiſtories of thoſe times, becauſe it was in effect the deciſive action between the two parties. It is obſerved, that from this grand period, the king's affairs became deſperate, and his whole party began to moulder away, and moſt ſenſibly to decline every where. The parliament's army had no ſooner gained this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they ſoon overflowed the whole king-

dom, bearing down all before them. Leiceſter, which the king had lately taken from them, was immediately regained. Taunton, which had been cloſely beſieged by lord Goring, and defended by the valiant Blake, was relieved: lord Goring was beaten, and purſued almoſt to Bridgewater. In this latter action the prudence of Cromwell was very conſpicuous: he would not ſuffer part of the horſe to purſue the enemy, till they were all come up together; then putting himſelf at their head, he performed the work with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took almoſt all the enemy's foot, and their ordnance.

After this victory, the ſtrong garriſon of Bridgewater was taken by ſtorm. This was of great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of garriſons was drawn over the country, from the Severn to the ſouth coaſts; whereby Devonſhire and Cornwall, ſtill chiefly at the king's devotion, were cut off from any communication with the eaſtern parts.

§. 7. Cromwell's next expedition was againſt the club-men, a kind of third army, which ſtarted up ſuddenly in ſeveral counties, on occaſion of the rapines and violences practiſed by the royaliſts in the weſt. Both parties endeavoured to gain them over, and they were formidable to both, till Cromwell's preſence, and excellent conduct, put an end to the inſurrection.

Immediately after we find him before Briſtol, in company with Fairfax, whom he adviſed to ſtorm that important city. Prince Rupert held it, with about 5000 horſe and foot, for the king, and had declared he would never ſurrender it, unleſs a mutiny happened. But Cromwell's counſel prevailing, an attack was made with ſo much fury, that the prince thought not fit to run the hazard of a ſecond aſſault, but delivered up the place, and with it moſt of the king's magazines and warlike proviſions. His majeſty hereupon diſcharged the prince, and wrote him a letter to retire out of the kingdom.

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From Briſtol, with a brigade of four regiments, Cromwell flew to the Devizes, and ſummoned the caſtle. The place was ſo ſtrong, that Sir Charles Lloyd, the governor, returned no other anſwer but "Win it and wear it. Yet, as if nothing was defenſible againſt our victorious commander, he was ſoon maſter of this fortreſs. Thence haſtening to Wincheſter, he by the way diſarmed and diſperſed the Hampſhire rioters: and being come before the city, he fired the gate, and entered; made a breach in the caſtle, which held out, and reduced it to the parliament's obedience. He did the ſame by Baſing-houſe, which was held by the marquis of Wincheſter, its owner, and thought almoſt impregnable; the colonels Norton and Harvey, and Sir William Waller, having aſſaulted it in vain. Seventy-two men were here loſt on the king's ſide, and about 200 taken, among which were the marquis himſelf, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, whom Cromwell ſent up to the parliament, and received the thanks of the houſe for theſe important ſervices.

Langford-houſe, near Saliſbury, upon his coming before it, was ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. Then marching beyond Exeter, at Bovy-Tracy he fought the lord Wentworth, taking 400 horſe, and about 100 foot, priſoners, with ſix ſtandards, one of which was the king's. Then joining with Fairfax, they in conjunction took Dartmouth by ſtorm, defeated the lord Hopton at Torrington, and purſued the only remains of a royal army into Cornwall, where prince Charles had a body of about 5000 horſe, and a 1000 foot: but unable to make head againſt the victors, he embarked with ſeveral noble perſons, and fled to the iſles of Scilly. Lord Hopton, who was left to command the forces, was obliged to diſband them: ſoon after which Exeter ſurrendered, and Cromwell came up to London, where he took his place in parliament, and received the hearty thanks of the houſe, for his great and many ſervices.

§. 8. The king's affairs were now entirely ruined, and an end was put to the firſt and longeſt civil war. The few places that held out for him were ſurrendered, and his majeſty threw himſelf into the hands of the Scots, then lying before Newark. The Scots ſoon after delivered him to the Engliſh parliament, who ſecured him in Holmby-houſe, where he was ſeized the next year by the army, and after ſome ineffectual treating, which we ſhall take notice of elſewhere, made his eſcape from Hampton-court to the iſle of Wight, remaining there till he was brought up to London in order to his trial. During all this time Cromwell was managing the parliament and the army, who were both jealous of him in their turns, and both of them, in their turns, outwitted by him. It was now perceived, that though Fairfax was general in name, Cromwell commanded in fact, the other doing nothing without his concurrence.

But the whole time between the end of the firſt war and the death of the king, was not ſpent in intriguing, and circumventing of parties. In the year 1648 the diſcontented part of the nation had again recourſe to arms. The firſt that appeared in a hoſtile manner were the Welſh, under major-general Langhorn, colonel Poyer, and colonel Powell. Theſe men, though formerly active parliamentarians, being to be diſbanded by order of the council of war, refuſed to ſubmit; and the better to ſecure themſelves, declared for the king, acting by commiſſion under the prince of Wales. Others joining them, they ſoon had a formidable body, and got poſſeſſion of ſeveral caſtles. There was alſo a conſiderable riſing in Kent, under the earl of Norwich; and another in the north, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The duke of Buckingham and his brother, the earl of Holland, and the earl of Peterborough, appeared in arms ſo near as Kingſton; and part of the fleet, under captain Batten, revolted to the prince. In a word, there was ſcarce a county in England, where there was not ſome aſſociation forming, in favour of the king. This put the parliament

ment upon vigorous meaſures; which proving ſucceſsful, ſeveral of the inſurrections were immediately quelled, and a powerful body of the royaliſts were ſhut up in the town of Colcheſter; where being obliged, after a long ſiege to ſurrender, Sir George Liſle, and Sir Charles Lucas, two of their heads, were ſhot to death by order of a council of war.

§. 9. Cromwell's part in this ſecond war was very conſiderable. Being ſent into Wales, colonel Horton, whom he diſpatched before him, defeated Langhorn's army, ſlew 1500, and took 3000 priſoners. Cromwell himſelf beſieged Chepſtow, which was taken by colonel Ewer, whom he left behind him for that purpoſe. Proceeding in the mean time into Pembrokeſhire, he took Tenby by ſtorm. Then advancing to Pembroke, where Langhorn, Poyer, and Powell had ſtrongly fortified themſelves, he reduced both the town and caſtle by famine. The three chiefs ſurrendered at mercy, and being condemned by a court-martial, were ordered to be ſhot to death; but having the favour given them of caſting lots, Poyer was the only one who ſuffered. The other priſoners were uſed with more lenity, and none of the town's people plundered.

The Scots, about this time, invaded England under duke Hamilton, who had carried the command from the marquis of Argyle, and was for reſtoring the king without conditions. Cromwell was ordered to advance againſt theſe, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of Wales, he marched towards the north with all his forces; ſending to major-general Lambert, who was already in thoſe parts, to avoid engaging 'till the whole army came together. While Cromwell was on this march, a charge of high-treaſon was drawn up againſt him by major Huntingdon, which proved ineffectual in the houſe of commons. At laſt, having joined Lambert, he met the Scots on the 17th of Auguſt, near Preſton in Lancaſhire. The Engliſh under Langdale,

dale, who had joined the Scots, behaved reſolutely, but were ſo preſſed upon by Cromwell's men, that they were obliged to retreat: which the Scots perceiving, they ſoon followed their example, and left Cromwell maſter of the field; who purſuing them cloſely, ſlew many, and took abundance of priſoners, with all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition. The next morning marching towards Warrington, he made a ſtand at a paſs, which for many hours was reſolutely diſputed with him: but at laſt he drove on the enemy, ſlew 1000 of them, and took 2000 priſoners. He was again oppoſed at Warrington-bridge by lieutenant-general Bayley, who was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner of war, and all his men, to the number of 4000, with arms and ammunition. As for duke Hamilton, he fled from place to place with about 3000 horſe, 'till he was taken at Uttoxeter in Staffordſhire, with all his men, and ſent priſoner to Windſor-caſtle. Thus the whole Scotch army, which had occaſioned ſo much terror, was totally routed and defeated by Cromwell, with ſcarce a third part of the ſame number of forces, very few of which were loſt in this important expedition. General Monroe, who was come into England as a reſerve to the duke, hearing of what had happened, and that Cromwell was advancing towards him in order to proſecute the advantage, thought it his beſt way to march back again with all expedition.

Having rid the nation of this great fear, and the north in particular of the burthen it groaned under through the oppreſſion of the Scots, Cromwell reſolved to enter Scotland itſelf, that he might effectually root out whatever threatned any farther diſturbance. In his way he reduced Berwick and Carliſle, both which had revolted from their former obedience. And juſt upon entering the kingdom, he ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that no one, upon pain of death, ſhould force from the Scots any of their cattle or goods. He alſo declared to the Scots themſelves, "That he came with an army to

free

free their kingdom from the Hamiltonian party, who endeavoured to involve both the nations in blood; without any intention to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." His proceedings were agreeable to this declaration; for marching to Edinburgh, he was received with great solemnity by the marquis of Argyle, and others; and having diſpoſſeſs'd the Hamilton party of all public truſts, he returned to England loaded with marks of honour, leaving behind him, at the requeſt of the Argyle party, three regiments of horſe under major-general Lambert. Upon his arrival at London, he took his place in parliament, and was preſented with the thanks of the houſe; which he received, according to cuſtom, with great appearance of humility. This was his laſt military expedition before the death of the king, which happened ſoon after, but which we ſhall leave to be ſpoken of in another place, and purſue our hero into Ireland.

## CHAP. III.

*The military actions of general* CROMWELL *after the king's death, during his government of Ireland.*

§. 1. THE Iriſh rebellion, which broke out in 1641, had, thro' the neceſſity of the times, been much neglected 'till 1649. The parliament, indeed, had long before got poſſeſſion of Dublin, which was delivered up to them by the marquis of Ormond, who was then obliged to come over to England. But being recalled by the Iriſh, Ormond made a league with them in favour of the king, and brought over moſt of the kingdom into a union with the royaliſts. Londonderry and Dublin were the only places that held out for the parliament, and the latter was in great danger of being loſt. This made colonel Jones, the governor, ſend over to England for ſuccour; and a conſiderable

ſiderable body of forces were thereupon ordered for Ireland. The command of theſe was offered to Cromwell, who accepted it with ſeeming reluctance; profeſſing, "that the difficulty which appeared in the expedition, was his chief motive for engaging in it; and that he hardly expected to prevail over the rebels, but only to preſerve to the commonwealth ſome footing in that kingdom.*"

The parliament was ſo pleaſed with his anſwer, that on the † 22d of June, 1649, they gave him a commiſſion to command all the forces that ſhould be ſent into Ireland, and to be lord-governor of that kingdom for three years, in all affairs both civil and military. From the very minute of his receiving this charge, Cromwell uſed an incredible expedition in the raiſing of money, providing of ſhipping, and drawing the forces together for their intended enterprize. The ſoldiery marched with great ſpeed to the rendezvous at Milford-Haven, there to expect the new lord-deputy, who followed them from London on the 10th of July. His ſetting

* The parliament, ſays his panegyriſt, offers the Iriſh expedition, with the lieutenancy of that kingdom, to Cromwell; but that command appears inglorious to him, as it leſſens the authority of his general. He acquaints him with it, and aſſures him, that he will never accept of it, tho' threatened with the greateſt puniſhment if he do not comply, or tendered the higheſt reward if he do.—By this title and inſtance Fairfax perceived how much more deſerving Cromwell was than himſelf, whom he before knew to be no way his inferior: and at the ſame time, he vied in kindneſs, and ſhewed that he deſerved well of his country, by refuſing the charge, and aſſigned it wholly to Cromwell. Peck's memoirs, &c. p. 54.

† The council of ſtate had nominated him as long before as the 15th of January 1648, and the parliament voted their approbation of him March the 31ſt; ſo that he deliberated a long while about the accepting of this commiſſion.

ſetting out was very pompous, being drawn in a coach with ſix horſes, and attended by many members of the parliament and council of ſtate, with the chief of the army; his life-guard conſiſting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all bravely mounted and accoutered, both them and their ſervants.

§. 2. Never did general more diſtinguiſh himſelf, either for valour and conduct, than Cromwell in this Iriſh expedition. Having called at Briſtol, where he was received with great honour, and given orders for the train of artillery, he went over to Wales, diſpatching three regiments before him for Dublin, to ſtrengthen the brave colonel Jones, who was appointed lieutenant-general of horſe by the parliament. With the aſſiſtance of theſe, that gallant commander raiſed the ſiege of Dublin, and entirely routed the marquis of Ormond, who had treated him with contempt. About four thouſand were killed in this action, and 25000 taken priſoners, with the loſs of only twenty on the parliament ſide. All the great guns, ammunition, proviſions, and about 4000 l. in money, belonging to the royaliſts, were obtained in this battle; the great ſucceſs of which was unexpected on both ſides: Jones having at firſt only attacked a party, by whoſe defeat he was led on to a complete victory. The marquis, upon this misfortune, fled to Kilkenny, and from thence to Drogheda, whither many of his ſcattered forces had betook themſelves before.

There was work enough, however, left for Cromwell, notwithſtanding this advantage before his arrival. The beating an army in the field was not the greateſt part of the buſineſs, while moſt of the fortified places, which were numerous, were in the hands of the enemy: yet a victory ſo complete, when he expected rather to hear of the loſs of Dublin, was matter of great encouragement to his excellency. He embarked at Milford-haven full of the good news, and arrived at Dublin in a ſhort time, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. As he paſſed

paſſed thro' the city, at a convenient place he made a ſtand, and in a ſpeech to the people, "declared the cauſe of his coming, promiſing not only favour and affection, but rewards and gratuities, to all that ſhould aſſiſt him in the reduction of their enemies." He was anſwered with loud applauſes, the people crying out that they would live and die with him.

§. 3. After the ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves, Cromwell drew them out of the city to a general muſter, where there appeared a complete body of 15,000 horſe and foot, out of which 10,000 were drawn for preſent ſervice. With this army he advanced towards Drogheda, or Tredagh, a ſtrong place, garriſoned by 2,500 foot and 300 horſe, the flower of the royal army, under the command of Sir Arthur Aſton, an experienced old ſoldier. The marquis of Ormond foreſaw that this place, by reaſon of its ſituation, would be firſt attempted; and he was in hopes he ſhould have time to recruit his army, while Cromwell was waſting his forces againſt the town. But no ſooner was the general come before Tredagh, than he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; which not being regarded, he immediately hung out the red enſign; blocked up the town by land, and ordered Ayſcough with his fleet to do the ſame by ſea; and being ſenſible of the miſchiefs of a long ſiege, he would not ſubmit to the common forms of approaches, but prepared directly for an aſſault.

Having planted a battery on the ſouth-ſide of the town, which continued firing for two days, two breaches were made in the walls, by which ſome regiments of foot immediately entered. But theſe being repulſed by the defendants, Cromwell drew out a freſh reſerve of foot, and in perſon bravely entered at their head. This example inſpired the ſoldiers with ſuch courage, that none were able to ſtand before them; and having now gained the town, they made a terrible ſlaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the ſword. Cromwell had given ſuch orders, to diſcou-

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rage other places from making oppoſition, to which purpoſe he wrote to the parliament, "that he believed this ſeverity would ſave much effuſion of blood." Aſton's men, however, did not fall unrevenged; for they deſperately diſputed every corner of the ſtreets, and finding theſe too hot, they retired to the churches and ſteeples. About an hundred of them were blown up together in St. Peter's church; only one man eſcaping, who leaped from the tower, and had quarter given him. Thoſe who would not ſurrender upon ſummons, were cloſely ſhut up and guarded, in order to ſtarve them out; and of thoſe who did ſurrender, all the officers and every tenth private man were killed, and the reſt thruſt on ſhipboard for Barbadoes. The winning of this town was ſo ſurpriſing, that O-Neal, at the hearing of it, ſwore a great oath, "that if Cromwell had taken Tredagh by ſtorm, if he ſhould ſtorm hell he would take it."

§. 4. The ſlaughter at Tredagh, though cruel in itſelf, had the good effect that the general deſired. All the other places round about ſurrendered, few of them waiting ſo much as for a ſummons. Dundalk was abandoned ſo precipitately, that the garriſon left their cannon behind them on the platforms. Cromwell therefore, finding his name ſufficient at this time in the north, did not march any farther that way, but returned to beſiege Wexford, taking in Killingkerick and Arkloe-caſtle by the way.

Having ſummoned Wexford, and received a dubious anſwer from colonel Synnot, the governor, the general waited till he might have an explanation. In this view he correſponded with him by ſeveral papers. But finding that Synnot's whole intent was to protract time, while the earl of Caſtlehaven, with 500 men, came to his aſſiſtance, Cromwell applied himſelf to ſtorming the caſtle. A ſmall breach being made, commiſſioners were ſent from the beſieged, to treat of a ſurrender: but it was now too late; for no ceſſation having been agreed upon, the guns continued firing, the breach was made wider,

wider, the guard quitted the caſtle, and ſome of Cromwell's men entered it. The enemy obſerving this, quitted their ſtations in all parts; ſo that the others getting over the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves of the town without any great oppoſition. Here, as well as at Drogheda, none were ſuffered to live that they found in arms. In this town great riches were taken, and ſome ſhips ſeized in the harbour, that had much interrupted the trade on that coaſt; and the ſeverity here uſed had the ſame effect as at Drogheda; the terror ſpread to all the towns and forts along the coaſt, as far as Dublin, which ſaved the general the trouble of ſummoning them.

§. 5. The winter now coming on, and it being a very wet ſeaſon, Cromwell's troops ſuffered much from the weather, and the flux then raging amongſt them. Many thought theſe reaſons ſhould have obliged him, for the preſent, to put a ſtop to his conqueſts; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis of Ormond met with in bringing a new army into the field, the antient diſagreement again breaking out between the popiſh confederates and him, the ſecret intelligence held by Cromwell in the province of Munſter, and the mighty affairs that called him back to England, were to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter was to interrupt his progreſs.

Being thus reſolved, he marches towards Roſs, a ſtrong town upon the Barrow. The lord Taaffe was governor of this place, who had a potent garriſon with him; and the better to ſecure it, Ormond, Caſtlehaven, and the lord Ardes, cauſed 1500 men to be boated over to reinforce it; which was done in ſight of Cromwell's army, who were not able to hinder it. However, the lord-general no ſooner came before the town, but he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender it to the parliament of England; declaring, that "he endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to avoid the effuſion of blood." No anſwer was at preſent returned, till the great

great guns began to play; when the governor, being apprehenſive of the ſame uſage that other garriſons had met with, was willing to treat; which being allowed, they came to this agreement: "That the town be delivered up to the lord-general Cromwell, and they within march away with bag and baggage to Kilkenny." Fifteen hundred of them accordingly did ſo; but 600, being Engliſh, revolted to Cromwell. In the mean time Kinſale, Cork, Youghall, Bandonbridge, and other garriſons, voluntarily declared for the conqueror; which places proved of great uſe in the reduction of Munſter, and of all Ireland. Sir Charles Coot and colonel Venables were very ſucceſsful in the north; and lord Broghill and colonel Hewſon, did good ſervice in other places.

§. 6. Cromwell being maſter of Roſs, laid a bridge of boats over the Barrow, and ſat down before Duncannon: but this place being ſo well provided with neceſſaries, that he judged it would be loſing time to tarry there, he quickly roſe, and marched into the county of Kilkenny, where the marquis of Ormond, being joined by Inchequin, ſeemed reſolved to give him battle. Ormond's army, both horſe and foot, was ſuperior to Cromwell's, which was much weakened by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diſeaſes: notwithſtanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of the enemy, drew off, without making any attempts, or ſtriking one ſtroke. Hereupon Eniſtegoe, a little town five miles from Roſs, was reduced by colonel Abbot; and colonel Reynolds coming before Carrick, divided his men into two parties, with one of which he entered a gate, while he amuſed the garriſon with the other, and ſo took about a hundred priſoners without the loſs of one man.

Cromwell, after this, took Paſſage-fort, and made an attempt upon Waterford: but the winter being far advanced, and the weather very bad, he thought proper to retire into quarters for a ſhort time. In the mean while Paſſage-fort was attacked by a party of the enemy,

enemy, who were totally routed by colonel Zankey, and 350 of them taken priſoners. Several other ſkirmiſhes were maintained with the like ſucceſs; but the loſs of lieutenant-general Jones, who died at Wexford of a violent fever, ſtruck a damp upon all, eſpecially as it was followed by that of other brave commanders, and abundance of the common ſoldiers. Recruits, however, arrived daily from England; and ſome of the Iriſh under Ormond, as well as the Engliſh, revolted to the victorious Cromwell; who made great uſe of the animoſities between them and Ormond, endeavouring in the mean time, by the moſt artful inſinuations, to draw over the marquis himſelf to the intereſt of the parliament.

Even while the army was in winter-quarters, our vigilant general could not be inactive. He viſited all the garriſons that were in his poſſeſſion in Munſter, and gave orders for affairs both civil and military. When the mayor of Kinſale delivered him the keys, he returned them not again, according to cuſtom, but gave them to colonel Stubber the governor; his reaſon for which was, that the mayor being both a papiſt and an Iriſhman, he could not ſafely be truſted with ſuch an important place.

§. 7. The parliament at this time being apprehenſive of ſome deſigns carrying on in Scotland, which might require the lieutenant's preſence, ordered the ſpeaker to write for him over: but the letter not reaching him till the latter end of March, he had taken the field before, and proceeded far in the reduction of Ireland. Tho' he came not into winter-quarters till December, yet ſcarce was January over, but he divided his army into two bodies, the more to diſtreſs the marquis of Ormond. One party he commanded himſelf, and gave the other to Ireton; and theſe were to march into the enemy's quarters two ſeveral ways, and to meet near Kilkenny. Cromwell's rout was over the Blackwater, towards the counties of Limerick and Tipperary; and by the way he took in a caſtle called Kilkenny, Cloghern-houſe, and Raghill-caſtle.

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Having with difficulty paſſed the river Shewer, at ten one night he arrived before Feathard, a garriſon town under one Butler, and immediately ſent a trumpeter to ſummon it. But they ſhot at the trumpeter, and declared, that the night was not a fit time to ſend a ſummons in. Hereupon Cromwell prepared to ſtorm, which brought the governor to a treaty, and the next morning Feathard was ſurrendered upon articles.

Calan, a ſtrong place, defended by three caſtles, was next to be attacked. Here he was joined by Ireton, Reynolds, and Zankey, whoſe ſoldiers together made a conſiderable body. They ſtormed the caſtles one after another, and carried them all in the ſpace of one day: upon which the whole garriſon, except Butler's troops, who ſurrendered before the cannon were fired, were put to the ſword. After the ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves in the town, they marched back to Feathard, by the way taking the caſtles of Onoctoter and Bullynard; which were ſoon followed by Kiltenon, Arſenon, Coher, and Dundrum, all very conſiderable places.

§. 8. Cromwell had now entirely ſubdued all the places of importance, except Limerick, Waterford, Clonmell, Galloway, and Kilkenny. Theſe were all towns of great ſtrength, and would neceſſarily take up ſome time. He reſolved, however, to attempt the laſt, and in that view, ſent orders to colonel Hewſon, the new governor of Dublin, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garriſons on that ſide. Accordingly Hewſon joined him near Gowram, a populous and ſtrong town, governed by one Hammond, who returned a very reſolute anſwer upon being ſummoned to ſurrender. The great guns upon this began to play, and did ſuch execution, as obliged Hammond to demand a parley: but the only terms he could now obtain were, "that the common ſoldiers ſhould have their lives, and the officers be diſpoſed of as the general thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, Hammond, and all the commiſſion officers but one,

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were the next day ſhot to death; and the popiſh prieſt, their chaplain, was hanged.

Proceeding now to Kilkenny (which, beſides its ordinary garriſon, had been reinforced from the neighbouring towns that ſurrendered) when he came within a mile of the walls, Cromwell ſummoned Sir Walter Butler the governor, and the corporation, to deliver up the city; which they refuſing to do, he drew nearer, and erected a battery in the moſt convenient place, notwithſtanding the oppoſition from within. With about 100 ſhot a breach was opened, at which the ſoldiers engaged the enemy, while colonel Ewer, with 1000 foot, gained another part of the city, called Iriſh-town. The beſieged, however, were ſo deſperate, that neither could Cromwell enter the breach, nor Ewer gain the bridge which led into the heart of the place. But a little conſideration brought the governor to better meaſures, and after a day's debate, it was agreed, "that the caſtle and city ſhould be delivered up to Cromwell, with all the arms, ammunition, and publick ſtores; that the inhabitants ſhould be protected in their perſons, goods, and eſtates, only paying two thouſand pounds to Cromwell's army; and that the governor, officers, and ſoldiers, ſhould march away with bag and baggage." Thus was Kilkenny, which had been the nurſery of the late rebellion, and the reſidence of the ſupreme council, reduced to the parliament's obedience in leſs than a week, chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable induſtry of the lord-general Cromwell, who frequently, on theſe deſperate occaſions, expoſed himſelf to the moſt imminent dangers.

§. 9. Having ſettled the affairs of Kilkenny, Cromwell marched to Carrick, in order to proceed on further action. But firſt he wrote a letter to the ſpeaker of the parliament, "giving an account of the taking of Kilkenny, and ſeveral other places; confeſſing that he had received many private intimations of the parliament's pleaſure, as to his coming home; but that as he did not receive his honour's letter till the army was

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in the field, and had not ſince heard any thing farther of the parliament's reſolution, he thought himſelf obliged to wait for a more clear expreſſion of their will, to which he was always ready to ſubmit."

About this time the marquis of Ormond, and his aſſociates, appointed a meeting in Weſt-meath, to conſider of ſome way to ſupport their cauſe, which was ruined almoſt every where. The reſult of their conference was, that they ſhould moleſt the Engliſh in their quarters, thereby to protract time, till they had an opportunity of leaving the kingdom. But Cromwell, without dreading their motions, ſat down before Clonmell, in which was a garriſon of 2000 foot, and 120 horſe: and as ſoon as the ſiege was formed, he detached colonel Reynolds and Sir Theophilus Jones, with 2500 horſe, foot and dragoons, to prevent Ormond's deſign. Sir Charles Coot alſo took the field with 3000 men, with the ſame intent. But the marquis ſhifting from place to place, to avoid fighting, colonel Reynolds, that his men might not remain idle, beſieged Tecrogham. In the mean time the lord Broghill, with another detachment, defeated the biſhop of Roſs, who was marching with 5000 men to relieve Clonmell. Many conſiderable perſons were here taken, and among them the biſhop himſelf, who was carried to a caſtle kept by his own forces, and there hanged before the walls, in ſight of the garriſon; which ſo diſcouraged them, that they immediately ſurrendered to the parliament's forces. This biſhop was uſed to ſay, "There was no way of curing the Engliſh, but by hanging them."

Theſe advantages were a ſpur to the ſoldiers that lay before Clonmell, and made them reſolute in the buſineſs, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they met with. The active Cromwell, having ſummoned O-Neal, the governor, to no purpoſe, proceeded to his uſual method of ſtorming. The great guns being planted, a breach was ſoon opened, which the beſiegers courageouſly entered, and, in ſpite of the bravery of the beſieged, kept their ground, till after four hours fighting,

fighting, with doubtful ſucceſs, they carried all before them. This was looked upon to be the hotteſt ſtorm, of ſo long continuance, that had ever been known. But the ſubduing of Clonmell, tho' with ſo much difficulty, occaſioned the ſurrender of ſeveral other garriſons.

§. 10. While the lord-general was thus victorious in one part of Ireland, his deputies, with the parties under them, were no leſs ſucceſsful in others: and his proceeding ſo proſperouſly in his affairs, and obtaining thereby ſo great ſway, occaſioned a book to be diſperſed about this time, entitled, "The character of king Cromwell;" which, tho' ſuppreſſed as a libel, was received as a kind of prophecy. And indeed, by his good government in Ireland, both in civil and military affairs, and the great ſucceſs of it, Cromwell obtained a very great intereſt, both here and there, both in the officers of the army and the parliament: only the Scots and preſbyterians were generally no favourers of him. He was now preparing to take Waterford and Duncannon, and had actually blocked up Waterford, when about the middle of May, by a new order, or rather requeſt of the parliament, he was obliged to leave the finiſhing of his conqueſts to his ſon-in-law Ireton, whom, for that purpoſe, he conſtituted lord-deputy. And ſo fortunate was Ireton in his commiſſion, that tho' he died of the plague in a year and a half after, he took Waterford and Limerick, and left very few places in the hands of the enemy.

Cromwell was in Ireland about nine months, in which inconſiderable time, he performed more than any king or queen of England had been able to do in a much greater number of years. Before he left the kingdom, in order to weaken the Iriſh, he contrived means for tranſporting no leſs than 40,000 of them out of their country into foreign ſervice, few of whom ever returned again. He alſo ſettled the civil affairs, and procured a more ſummary way of adminiſtring juſtice than ever yet was known. After which

which he embarked for England, and ſailed home, as it were, in triumph. At Briſtol, he was twice ſaluted by the great guns, and welcomed in with many other demonſtrations of joy. On Hounſlow-heath he was met by general Fairfax, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of the common people. Coming to Hyde-park, the great guns were fired off, and colonel Barkſtead's regiment, which was drawn up for that purpoſe, gave him ſeveral vollies with their ſmall arms. Thus in a triumphant manner he entered London, amidſt a crowd of attendants, friends and citizens, and was received with the higheſt acclamations. And having reſumed his place in parliament, the ſpeaker, in an elegant ſpeech, returned him the thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices in Ireland. After which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a particular account of the ſtate and condition of that kingdom.

## CHAP. IV.

*Cromwell's war againſt the Scots under king Charles the ſecond, till he totally routs them at the battle of Worceſter.*

§. 1. THE laſt war in which Cromwell was perſonally engaged, was againſt the Scots, and other partizans of king Charles the ſecond. In leſs than a month after his return from Ireland, he was employed in this new expedition, which took him up much time and labour, the Scots, upon the late king's death, had proclaimed his ſon their ſovereign, and ſent commiſſioners to the Hague, to acquaint his majeſty on what terms they would receive him; the chief of which was, "that he ſhould conform to both the covenants, and oblige others to do the ſame." The treaty between

tween them was long on foot, his majeſty, in the mean time, ſhifting from place to place for his ſecurity; till at laſt, by his granting a commiſſion to the marquis of Montroſe, who was hated by the kirk, the king had like to have ſpoiled all. But upon the execution of the marquis, and a freſh application from the covenanters, he conſented in June, 1650, to all their demands, and arrived in Scotland on the 16th of that month, having ſigned the covenants before he ſet foot on ſhore.

The parliament of Scotland, hereupon began to raiſe forces for the king's ſervice, with which, it was ſuppoſed, they intended to invade England. While theſe preparations were carrying on in Scotland, the commonwealth here were providing for their own ſecurity; and it was with a view to this, that they had ſent for Cromwell from Ireland. He, as ſoon as he arrived, perſuaded the council not to be behind-hand with the enemy, but to prevent the Scots invaſion of England, by carrying the war directly into Scotland. Some ſcrupulous men, however, and among them general Fairfax, objected to this, as being contrary to the covenant between the two nations. To which it was anſwered, "That the Scots had already broken the covenant, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one ſide, after it had been diſſolved on the other." So that they came at length to this reſolution, "That having a formed army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the Scots marching into England, and the miſeries that might attend ſuch an invaſion." The lord-general Fairfax being again conſulted herein, ſeemed at firſt to like the deſign; but having been afterwards perſuaded by the preſbyterian miniſters, and his own lady, who was a great patroneſs of them, he declared, "That he was not ſatisfied, that there was a juſt ground for the parliament of England, to ſend their army to invade Scotland; but in caſe the Scots ſhould invade England, then he was ready to engage againſt them in defence of his own country."

country." The council of ſtate being ſomewhat troubled at the lord-general's ſcruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to ſatisfy him of the juſtice and lawfulneſs of this undertaking. The chief members of this committee were Cromwell, Lambert, Harriſon, St. John, and Whitelock, &c.

§. 2. Cromwell opened the conference; and after ſome previous diſcourſe between the lord-general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground of his diſſatisfaction, declaring, "That he did not ſee the Scots had given ſufficient cauſe for this invaſion of their country by the Engliſh." Upon which Cromwell proceeded thus: "I confeſs my lord, that if they had given no cauſe to invade them, it would not be juſtifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a ſufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in conſcience we ought to do, and diſpleaſing both to God and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordſhip knows they have done ſince the national league and covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of duke Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and ſo the act of the whole nation by their repreſentatives; and if they now give us too much cauſe of ſuſpicion, that they intend another invaſion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they have made a full agreement, without the aſſent or privity of this commonwealth; and are very buſy at this preſent in raiſing forces and money to carry on their deſign: If theſe things are not a ſufficient ground and cauſe for us to endeavour to provide for the ſafety of our own country, and to prevent the miſeries which an invaſion of the Scots would bring upon us; I humbly ſubmit to your excellency's judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all, wherein God was pleaſed to bleſs us with ſucceſs againſt them: And that they now intend a new invaſion upon us, I do as really believe, and have as good intelligence of it, as we can

have of any thing that is not yet acted. Therefore I ſay, my lord, that upon theſe grounds, I think we have moſt juſt cauſe to begin, or rather to return and requite their hoſtility firſt begun upon us; and thereby to free our country (if God ſhall be pleaſed to aſſiſt us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great miſery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be a war between us, I fear is unavoidable: Your excellency will ſoon determine, whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country, or of our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think is without ſcruple." But no arguments could prevail on the general, who declared that his conſcience was not ſatisfy'd as to the juſtice of this war; and therefore, that he might be no hindrance to the parliament's deſigns, he deſired to lay down his commiſſion. Upon which Cromwell ſpoke again, as follows:

"I am very ſorry your lordſhip ſhould have thoughts of laying down your commiſſion, by which God hath bleſſed you in the performance of ſo many eminent ſervices for the parliament. I pray, my lord, conſider all your faithful ſervants us who are under you, and deſire to ſerve under no other general. It would be a great diſcouragement to all of us, and a great diſcouragement to the affairs of the parliament, for our noble general to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commiſſion. I hope you lordſhip will never give ſo great an advantage to the publick enemy, nor ſo much diſhearten your friends, as to think of laying down your commiſſion." But all this would not do: The general ſtill continued in the ſame mind, and concluding thus: "What would you have me do? As far as my conſcience will give way, I am willing to join with you ſtill in the ſervice of the parliament; but where the conſcience is not ſatisfied, none of you, I am ſure, will engage in any ſervice; and that is my condition in this, and therefore I muſt deſire to be excuſed."

Cromwell and the other officers in this committee were moſt earneſt in perſuading the general to continue his

his commiſſion; and yet, 'tis ſaid, there was cauſe enough to believe that they did not over-much deſire it. Ludlow ſays, that Cromwell preſs'd the council of ſtate, that notwithſtanding the unwillingneſs of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occaſion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; profeſſing for his own part, "that he would rather chuſe to ſerve under him in his poſt than to command the greateſt army in Europe." He alſo informs us, that the forementioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant-general Cromwell, "who, ſays he, acted his part to the life, that I really thought him in earneſt." * How far he was ſo, it is impoſſible to ſay with any certainty.

Thus Cromwell and his party carried it againſt the general, who thereupon laid down his commiſſion; tho' he was ſeemingly much perſuaded to the contrary. The parliament were at no loſs for one to ſucceed in the great office; for having ſufficiently experienced the valor, conduct and faithfulneſs of Cromwell, who had in fact been long at the head of the army, tho' only lieutenant-general in name, they ſoon voted, one and all, that he ſhould be their general; † and ſo an act paſſed, "for conſtituting and appointing Oliver Cromwell, Eſq; to be captain-general in chief of all the forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England."

§. 3. Before his departure for Scotland, Cromwell moved the council that he might be eaſed of the affairs of Ireland. But he could only obtain to have five others joined with him in the commiſſion for governing that kingdom, who were Ludlow, Ireton, colonel John Jones, major Salway, and one Mr. Weaver; any three of whom were to make a committee. And now the lord-general ſet out for the north, after the army, and received great demonſtrations of reſpect as



* Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 315.
† Fairfax recommended Cromwell to this truſt.

he paſſed along. At York he was attended, and magnificently entertained by the corporation; but ſtaid no longer than to order ſupplies for the army.

The committee of eſtates in Scotland, before this, ſeemed to be ſurpriſed at the news of an Engliſh army's marching northwards. They ſent a letter to the ſpeaker of the Engliſh parliament, "ſetting forth their conſternation, and declaring that the forces they were raiſing were only for their own defence? deſiring to know, whether the Engliſh army, now on the march, was to act on the offenſive or defenſive." They wrote alſo to Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, governor of Newcaſtle, major general Lambert, and the lord-general Cromwell, in much the ſame terms. On the other hand, the parliament of England publiſhed a declaration of the grounds and reaſons of their army's advance, "accuſing the Scots of acting contrary to agreement, and having invaded England before under duke Hamilton, and now preparing for another invaſion; in proclaiming Charles Stuart king of England and Ireland, though they had no authority in theſe kingdoms; and in declaring againſt the Engliſh parliament and army, as ſectaries, and ranking them with malignants and papiſts."

The Scots, perceiving that the parliament of England was not to be impoſed on, now laboured by all poſſible means to render their army odious; and ſo did they terrify the common people by miſrepreſentations of Cromwell's commiſſion, as if he was to deſtroy all he met with, that they were hardly ſatisfied by a declaration of the lord-general and the army, "reminding them of the behaviour of the Engliſh forces when they were before in Scotland, and proteſting that none but thoſe who had endeavoured to engage foreign princes againſt the commonwealth of England, or had exerciſed actual hoſtility, ſhould have the leaſt violence offered to them, either in body or goods."

In the mean time leaving York, Cromwell came to Northallerton and Darlington, being ſaluted, as he paſſed by, with the ordnance. At Durham he was met with by Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, who conducted him

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to Newcaſtle, and there galántly entertained him. From Newcaſtle he haſtened to Berwick, and cauſed a general review of the army on Haggerton-moor, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, by a gallant body of 5000 horſe, and 11,000 foot. From Berwick he ſent the army's declaration into Scotland, containing the grounds of their march into that kingdom. One copy hereof was conveyed to the Scotch general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of eſtates.

§. 4. While the lord-general was thus upon the verge of Scotland, he drew out the army upon a hill, within Berwick bounds, where they had a full proſpect of the adjacent country, and made a ſpeech to them, exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a bleſſing from God, and all encouragement from himſelf." This ſpeech was anſwered with loud and unanimous acclamations from the ſoldiers; who being ordered to march, entered Scotland with a ſhout. That night they quartered near the lord Mordington's caſtle, where the general cauſed proclamation to be made, "that none, on pain of death, ſhould offer violence to the perſons or effects of any in Scotland not found in arms; and that none, on the ſame penalty, ſhould ſtraggle half a mile from their quarters, without ſpecial licence."

The next day they arrived at Dunbar, where they were recruited with proviſions, by ſhips ſent thither from England for that purpoſe; the Scots having taken care, before-hand, that the country from Berwick to Edinburgh ſhould afford them nothing. From Dunbar they marched to Haddington, within twelve miles of Edinburgh. And in all this march they did not ſee one Scotchman under ſixty years of age, nor any youth above ſix, and but very few women and children; the Scotch miniſters having aſſured the people, "that the Engliſh would cut the throats of all the men between ſix and ſixteen years of age, cut off the right-hands of all the youth between ſixteen and ſix, burn

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the womens breasts with hot irons, and destroy all before them."

§. 5. After the army's remove from Haddington, they understood that the enemy was disposed to give them battle on a heath called Gladsmoor. The English hereupon took care to possess themselves of the place before them: but the Scots did not think fit to appear, notwithstanding that the general did all that lay in his power to provoke them to it. Some skirmishes however happened, about the possession of a place called Arthur's-hill, which the English made themselves masters of.

As he could not draw the Scots to action, Cromwell intended to have begun with them; but was prevented by a great rain, and obliged to draw off his army towards Muscleborough. The enemy, upon his retreat, did all they could to distress his army, and put his rear guard into some confusion; but were soon repulsed by major-general Lambert, and colonel Whalley, the king standing all the while on a castle to see the encounter. Between three and four o'clock the next morning, the English were attacked in their quarters, at Muscleborough, with great fury, the enemy being animated by some of their ministers: but victory was still on their side, for they routed the Scots, and pursued them within half a league of Edinburgh, killing several, and taking many prisoners. Cromwell got much applause after this action, by sending the chief of the Scotch officers, who were wounded and taken, in his own coach to Edinburgh. This vindicated him, in a great measure, from the reports, that had been given out of his cruelty.

§. 6. Having marched again to Dunbar, to take in fresh supplies, the general gave away a great quantity of corn among the poor of the place, who were in extreme want. In the mean time the Scots ministers at Edinburgh, imagining he was quite routed, gave publick thanks to God, for putting terror into the

the hearts of the Engliſh ſectaries: but his ſudden return to Muſcleborough made them aſhamed of what they had done, and proved that general Leſley, who was not ſo confident to be off his guard, could judge better of events than his enthuſiaſtical teachers.

An equivocal meſſage now arriving from Leſley, concerning the ſtate of the preſent difference, and full of inſipid diſtinctions about the king and the cauſe; the Engliſh general gave him to underſtand, that he was not to be thus amuſed, but would take the intentions of the Scots from what they had continued to act; concluding, "That if Leſley was reſolved to come to a battle, he had a fair opportunity of doing it; otherwiſe, to what purpoſe did they both wait?"

Finding he could not provoke the Scots to an engagement, Cromwell removed to Pencland-hills, and there pitched his tents within ſight of Edinburgh. About the ſame time he executed a ſerjeant, for plundering a houſe contrary to his declaration. He alſo took in ſome ſmall garriſons, and at the requeſt of the Scots appointed a conference, in which he was aſſured, "that when opportunity ſerved, it ſhould be ſeen that they wanted not courage to give him battle." While he lay here, he advanced one day at the head of a party, in order to ſhew how ready he was to engage; when one of the Scots, who knew him, fired a carbine at him: upon which Cromwell called out with great compoſure, and told him, "that if he had been one of his ſoldiers, he ſhould have been caſhiered for firing ſo wide of the mark."

It would be tedious to recite all that paſſed between the two armies, before they actually came to an engagement. "Cromwell, ſays father * Orleans, whoſe intereſt it was to come ſoon to a battle, in a country where his army found nothing to ſubſiſt on, marched directly to the enemy, who lay encamped between Edinburgh and Leith, to cover thoſe two places, and the heart of the country. The cunning Engliſhman

* Revolutions d'Angleterre.

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tried all ways to draw Leſley to fight; but he underſtood his trade, and it being his intereſt to protract time, ſo to ruin the enemy's army, which had neither ammunition nor proviſions, but what came from England at a great charge, he kept himſelf ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that Cromwell durſt not attack him. The Engliſh general uſed all baits and ſtratagems known in war to oblige the Scot to fight him; ſometimes drawing him towards Dunbar, as if he would have beſieged Edinburgh, and again moving to get between Sterling and him. But the Scot dexterouſly avoided thoſe ſnares; and though the Engliſh army kept up cloſe with him, he ſo ordered his motions, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that the whole month of Auguſt was ſpent in theſe counter-marches, ſo tedious to a man of Cromwell's ſpirit, who could never meet with an opportunity, either to fight in the open field, or attack his enemy in his camp.

§. 7. At laſt, on the 30th of Auguſt, Cromwell drew out his army from Muſcleborough, and marched towards Haddington. The Scots obſerving the Engliſh army to retire, followed them cloſe; and falling upon the rear-guard of horſe in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming ſuddenly upon them, put them into ſome diſorder. But the Scots wanting courage to proſecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overſhadowing the moon, gave the Engliſh an opportunity to ſecure themſelves, and cover the main body. Being come to Haddington, where they were in continual danger of being aſſaulted by the enemy, the general ordered a ſtrict watch to be kept, to prevent the worſt. The Scots conceiving they had now more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the Engliſh quarters on the weſt end of the town; but were ſoon repulſed and ſent farther off. The next day, being the firſt of September, the Scots being drawn up at the weſt end of the town, in a very advantageous place, the Engliſh drew out on

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the eaſt into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage in; where having waited ſome hours for the coming of the Scots, and perceiving they would not fight but upon an advantage, they, purſuant to their former reſolution, marched away to Dunbar.

The Scotch army followed at a convenient diſtance, being reinforced with the addition of three regiments; and ſeeing the Engliſh lodged in Dunbar, hovered about them upon the adjacent hills like a thick cloud, menacing nothing but ruin and deſtruction, and looking down upon them as their ſure prey.

The lord general was now in great diſtreſs, and look'd on himſelf as undone. His army was in a very weak and ſickly condition, and in great want of proviſions, whereby their courage alſo was very much abated; while the Scots were ſtout and hearty, in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground. And beſides, they more than doubled the Engliſh in number, being about twenty-ſeven thouſand, whereas the others were but twelve thouſand. Some ſay they had in their army about thirty thouſand, horſe and foot; and the Engliſh were reduced to ten thouſand at moſt. General Cromwell, with this ſickly company, was now hemmed in on every ſide by thoſe greater numbers of his enemies; who, to make ſure work, had alſo by a ſtrong party ſecured Coberſpath, the only paſs between him and Berwick, thereby to hinder all proviſions or relief from thence, and to cut off all retreat from the Engliſh army, who had not above three days forage for their horſes. Thus were they reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits *, ſo that they had now no way left, but either to give up themſelves a prey to their inſulting enemies, or to fight upon



* Before the battle of Dunbar, ſays Whitelock, the Engliſh were in a ſad poſture: very many of their men ſick, and wanting proviſions; the enemy having made up the paſſes before them: the whole Scots army on the right-hand, and the ſea on the left; and the whole nation of Scotland behind them, p. 471.

theſe unequal terms, and under thoſe great diſadvantages.

In this extremity the lord-general, on the 2d of September, called a council of war, in which, after ſome debate, it was reſolved to fall upon the enemy the next morning; about an hour before day; and accordingly the ſeveral regiments were ordered to their reſpective poſts. Here we are told by biſhop Burnet, that Cromwell, under theſe preſſing difficulties, called his officers together to ſeek the lord, as they expreſſed it: after which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill, and by proſpective glaſſes diſcerning a great motion in the Scotch camp; Cromwell thereupon ſaid, "God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us." And the biſhop ſays, that Cromwell loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards.

The Scots, it ſeems, had now at laſt reſolved to fight the Engliſh, and to that end were coming down the hill? where, if they had continued, the Engliſh could not have gone up to engage them without very great diſadvantage. This reſolution was contrary to Leſley's opinion; who though he was in the chief command, had a commitee of ſtates to give him his orders, among whom Wariſtoun was one. Theſe being weary of lying in the fields, thought that Leſley did not make haſte enough to deſtroy the army of the ſectaries, as they called them. Leſley, on the other hand, told them, that by lying there all was ſure, but that by engaging in action with brave and deſperate men, all might be loſt; and yet they ſtill preſſed him to fall on. Many have imagined that there was treachery in all this; but the [illegible]-mentioned author ſays, he was perſuaded there was no treachery in it; only Wariſtoun was too hot, and Leſley was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ſhould not have done. This reſolution of the Scots to fall upon the Engliſh was ſome time retarded by the unſeaſonable-

unſeaſonableneſs of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already obſerved, Cromwell reſolved to fall upon them.

§. 8. The night before the battle proving dreadfully rainy and tempeſtuous, the lord-general took more than ordinary care of himſelf and his army. He refreſhed his men in the town, and above all things ſecured his match-locks againſt the weather, whilſt his enemies neglected theirs. The Scots were all the night employed in coming down the hill; and early in the morning, being Tueſday the third of September, before they were put in order, general Cromwell drew out a ſtrong party of horſe, and falling upon the horſe-guards, made them retire *. Then immediately his bodies both of horſe and foot advancing, the fight ſoon grew hot on all ſides; 'till after about an hour's diſpute, the whole numerous army of the Scots was totally routed. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks. The reſt fled, and were purſued as far as Haddington with great execution. About four thouſand were ſlain on the place and in the purſuit, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, many of whom were deſperately wounded. Fifteen thouſand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours, were taken; and all with the loſs of ſcarce three hundred Engliſh. Priſoners of note were Sir James Lumſdale lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord Libberton (who ſoon after died of his wounds) adjutant-general Bickerton, ſcout-maſter Campbell, Sir William Douglas, the lord Grandiſon, and colonel Gordon; beſides twelve lieutenants-colonels, ſix majors, forty-two captains, and ſeventy-five lieutenants. The two Leſleys eſcaped to Edinburgh, which upon the

* Rapin ſays, the Scots cavalry on the right wing performed very well at firſt; but were at laſt drove back, and put to flight. The left wing fled without ſuſtaining one charge.

the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by his garriſon, and Leith reſolved to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out.

Thus this formidable army, which had ſo lately triumphed in a confident aſſurance of victory, was totally defeated and overthrown by one not half ſo numerous, which at the ſame time was reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon a firm reſolution either to conquer or die, and withal, their falling ſo ſuddenly upon the Scots, when they ſo little expected them, but deſigned firſt to fall upon them, ſeem to be the true occaſion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord-general himſelf drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and ſent it by a courier to the council of ſtate, who ordered it to be read in all the churches of London, with ſolemn thankſgiving: and the colours taken in this battle being ſent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in Weſtminſter-hall.

§. 9. This great action (the moſt critical one that ever Cromwell was engaged in, and which for that reaſon we have related more particularly than many others) being thus happily ended, the Engliſh ſoldiers were inſpired with new courage. The lord-general, ſoon after this battle was over, ſent Lambert to attempt Edinburgh, the capital, and ſecure Leith, that the Engliſh ſhips might the more conveniently ſupply the army. Lambert took poſſeſſion of both on the ſame day, they having been deſerted by the Scots, and found there ſeveral pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſions. But though the Engliſh were maſters of the town, Edinburgh-caſtle ſtill remained in the hands of the enemy: yet this, though judged impregnable, was at laſt reduced by our victorious general.

Several things paſſed, however, before the ſiege of that fortreſs was undertaken. Cromwell invited the Edinburgh miniſters in the caſtle to return to their cures;

cures; which they obſtinately refuſed, pretending they had no ſecurity for their perſons. On this occaſion ſeveral letters paſſed between the general, the governor, and theſe miniſters; who ſtill perſiſting in their ſtiff-necked way, the general cauſed Engliſh miniſters to officiate in their places. The chief magiſtrates of Edinburgh, the committees of the church and ſtate, and the remains of the army from Dunbar, all retired to Sterling, in order to recover their ſhattered ſtrength. But all the methods they could uſe ſignified little; for the Scots were divided among themſelves, and ſplit into many parties and factions, which Cromwell, no doubt, knew how to manage to his advantage, while the motions of his army round about Edinburgh kept the whole country in awe. Several places, in the mean time, were taken in by his deputies, and a conſiderable victory was gained by Lambert over colonel Ker, at Hamilton; whereby the power of the remonſtrators, one of the moſt violent parties then ſubſiſting, was entirely ruined.

§. 10. The taking of Edinburgh caſtle ſoon followed. This is the moſt conſiderable ſtrong-hold in Scotland, having all the requiſite advantages both of nature and art. It is ſeated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance, and that ſteep, and by which only two or three can go a-breaſt. Beſides, it overlooks and commands all the places about it; ſo that Cromwell's men were often galled by the cannon from thence, in their quarters at Edinburgh.

When Cromwell came firſt before this ſtrong place, which was not long after the defeat at Dunbar, he ſummoned the governor, colonel Dundaſs, to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to conſult how to reduce it by force. Nothing encouraged the attempting it by ſtorm; and all probable ways being debated, it was at laſt reſolved to force it by mines. In order for this work, miners were ſent for, and towards the latter end of September, the galleries were begun in the night; which the beſieged

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no ſooner ſaw, but they fell to firing upon them. But this proved no impediment to the Engliſh, who, with indefatigable labour, wrought through the earth till they came to the main rock. This put them to a ſtand, but did not make them give over; for having made holes in the rock, they filled them full of powder, and endeavoured to make it fly by firing.

But this mining work going but ſlowly on, the lord-general, fearing he ſhould not be able to blow the caſtle into the air, endeavoured now to level it with the ground; and to that end, he raiſed a battery fortified with gabions and other contrivances, deſigning to play inceſſantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The governor was very much amazed at this, and began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withſtand the Engliſh induſtry; though he did his utmoſt to anſwer the expectations of thoſe by whom he was intruſted. The battery being raiſed to a convenient height, 4 mortar-pieces and 6 battering guns were forthwith mounted againſt the caſtle. But before the word of command was given, the lord-general thought fit once more to ſummon the governor, in the following terms; "That he being reſolved to uſe ſuch means as were put into his hands, for the reducing of the caſtle, did, for preventing further miſery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions." To this the governor returned this anſwer, "That being intruſted by the eſtates of Scotland, for the keeping of the caſtle, he could not deliver it up without leave from them: and therefore he deſired ten days time to ſend to them, and receive their anſwer." But the lord-general knowing his time was precious, made this ſudden reply, "That it concerned him not to know the obligations of them that truſted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himſelf, and thoſe that were with him: but he could not give liberty to him to conſult with the committee of eſtates."

'Twas

'Twas deſigned that this parley ſhould continue two days; but ſome great ſhot flying from the caſtle before; order was given to try the mortar-pieces, three with ſhells, and the fourth with ſtones. Which being done accordingly, the governor returned an anſwer to the general's laſt meſſage; in which "he adjured him that liberty might be granted to him to ſend to the committee of eſtates: and ſaid, that he would be very willing to receive information from thoſe of his countrymen whom he could truſt." To this the general replied, "That whoever he would appoint to come to him, ſhould have liberty for one hour; but to ſend to the committee of the eſtates he could not grant." The governor took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces and great guns had for ſome ſmall time play'd againſt the caſtle. This moved him to ſend forth a drum, deſiring a conference with the provoſt of Aberdeen, and one more then in Edinburgh; to which the general readily conſented. But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmoſt importance, refuſed to concern themſelves in it, leaving the governor to take his own courſe. Hereupon Dundaſs was in great perplexity, till having reſolved the matter in his mind, he at laſt came to this reſult, to acquit himſelf manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red enſign was immediately hung out in defiance, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this, the lord general ſent in upon them ſuch continual ſhowers of ſhot, that the governor in a ſhort time offered to ſurrender, if his former requeſt, of ſending to the committee, might be granted. But this being ſtill refuſed, Dundaſs thought it not good to hold out any longer againſt ſuch violent aſſaults; and ſo entering upon a treaty with the lord general, came to an agreement; Firſt, that the caſtle, the cannon, arms, and ammunition, and furniture of war, be delivered up to Cromwell: Secondly, that the Scots have liberty to carry away their publick regiſters, publick moveables, private evidences and writs: Thirdly, that thoſe goods in the

caſtle

caſtle belonging to any perſon, the owners ſhould have reſtored to them: Fourthly, that the governor, and all military officers, and ſoldiers, might depart without moleſtation, to Bruntiſland in Fife.

According to theſe articles, this ſtrong caſtle, which gloried in its virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was, after a ſiege of three months, delivered up to Cromwell on the 24th day of December; whereby there alſo fell into his hands fifty-three pieces of ordnance, ſome of them remarkable both for ſize and beauty, 8,000 arms, fourſcore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapeſtry and jewels. The ſubduing of this place was ſo unexpected by ſeveral, that the Scots cried out, "That Cromwell took it only by ſilver bullets." But what appeared moſt ſtrange to others, and which made well on Cromwell's ſide, was, that the Scotch army, which lay not very far off, ſhould never attempt the relief of this moſt important place.

§. 11. The Scots were now intent upon the coronation of their king, which had been long delayed, that he might "humble himſelf for his father's ſins, and his own tranſgreſſions." But the vigorous proceedings of the Engliſh put them upon haſtening what of themſelves they were backward enough in; ſo on the firſt of January this ſolemnity was performed at Scone, his majeſty firſt ſubſcribing both the covenants. And now, in order to raiſe a powerful army, all perſons were promiſcuouſly admitted, and great numbers of honorary volunteers flocked to the king's ſtandard at Aberdeen. From thence he marched for Sterling, where having muſtered his army, he made duke Hamilton lieutenant-general, Leſley major-general, Middleton major-general of horſe, and Maſſey general of the Engliſh troops.

Cromwell, who obſerved theſe proceedings, was little concerned at them. He endeavoured, however, to ſecure all the garriſons ſouth of Forth; to which end he ordered colonel Fenwick to reduce Hume caſtle.

caſtle. Fenwick immediately applied himſelf to the work, and having drawn up his men before the place, ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender. But the governor, one Cockburn, being a man of fancy, returned only a quibbling anſwer. However, he did not continue long in this merry humour: for Fenwick having planted a battery, and made a breach in the caſtle, was invited to a parley juſt as he was about to enter. But he would allow only quarters for life; which being accepted, the garriſon marched out, and captain Collinſon took poſſeſſion of it for the parliament. About the ſame time colonel Monk reduced Tantallon caſtle, after a vigorous defence.

The king and his party were now very active, and had got together an army of 20,000 men. But the earl of Eglington, with ſome other commanders, going into the weſt to raiſe recruits, were ſeized by Lilburn, and ſent priſoners to Edinburgh.

§. 12. The Engliſh parliament, all this while, had a ſpecial regard to their army in Scotland. So careful were they to furniſh them with men, money, and proviſions, that as no army could better deſerve it, ſo no army ever had more encouragement. Yet both parliament and army ſuffered a great affliction in the ſickneſs of their general, who was now wholly confined to his chamber: and his not acting in perſon made the Scots believe, and confidently report, that he was certainly dead. To convince them however of their miſtake, he ordered a Scotch trumpeter, who was ſent to the Engliſh on a particular affair, to be brought before him, being then on the mending hand. But he relapſed ſoon after, and was in more danger than ever: yet the goodneſs of his conſtitution overcame his diſtemper, with the help of two eminent phyſicians that were ſent him by the parliament; ſo that he did not think fit to accept of the parliament's offer, of returning into England before his buſineſs was done.

No

No ſooner was he able to ſtir abroad, but he conſulted with his chief officers about carrying on the war. He encamped again on Pencland-hills, a place well known to the Engliſh army. From Pencland-hills he marched to Newbridge, and from Newbridge to Lithgow, where from the battlements of the caſtle, he could diſcern the Scotch army, as it lay encamped at Torwood, near Sterling, all guarded round with regular fortifications. Though the Engliſh could not poſſibly drive them out of this faſtneſs, yet the lord-general, to provoke them to fight, marched his army in battalia before them, and ſtood in that poſture eight hours. But finding all this ineffectual, he drew off to Glaſgow, in order to refreſh his men; which being done, he again purſued the Scotch army, who had now removed their camp, and in their ſight ſtormed and took Calendar-houſe, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and reſolutely defended.

§. 13. Finding he could by no means bring the Scots to a battle, Cromwell ſent colonel Overton, with near 2000 foot and horſe, to make an attempt on Fife, in order to cut off all ſupplies from the enemy. Overton croſſed the Forth, and landed his army at North-Ferry, in ſpite of the ſhowers of ſhot that were poured on him from the ſhore. He was followed by Lambert and Okey, with two regiments of horſe, and two of foot. The king now ſent 4000 men, under major-general Brown, and colonel Holborn, to drive the Engliſh back again over the Forth: but they were entirely defeated by Oliver's party, 2000 of them being killed on the ſpot, and moſt of the reſt taken priſoners. Among the latter was major-general Brown himſelf, who died ſoon after, for grief, as it was thought, of this misfortune.

The Engliſh now took in garriſons almoſt as faſt as they approached them. That of Inneſgary was ſo terrified at the late defeat, that they ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons to Lambert, leaving behind them all their proviſions, ammunition, and arms, except their

ſwords

ſwords only. The king himſelf and his whole army were in ſuch conſternation, that they ſuddenly decamped from Torwood, and marched into Sterling-park. Cromwell followed them at their heels, and paſſing over the ground where they ſo lately lay, he found there all their ſick men, and a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, which ſhewed in what a panick they left the place.

§. 14. Cromwell's attempts were ſtill in vain; for the Scots would not come to an engagement. Hereupon he marched away to Lithgow, and ſent the greateſt part of his men over the Forth, in order to carry on the war in Fife. At Leith, whither he retired in perſon to provide for the ſupply of his ſoldiers, he received the welcome news of the ſurrender of Bruntiſland to Lambert; which place was of great advantage to the Engliſh, being a commodious harbour for the landing of ſtores.

Soon after he croſſed the Forth himſelf, and drawing the greateſt part of his army from Bruntiſland, with the train of artillery, he went to St. John's-town, the taking of which, he knew, would prevent the Highlanders from ſending any ſupplies, either of men or proviſions, to Sterling. But, contrary to his expectation, the meſſenger whom he ſent to ſummon it, was denied admittance, and returned back with this ſhort anſwer from the townſmen, "that they were not in a condition to receive letters." The reaſon of this was, as it afterwards appeared, that the lord Duffus had the day before entered the town, with 1300 men. But the lord-general Cromwell, upon the refuſal of a new ſummons which he ſent, immediately drained the water out of the moats about the town, and falling to batter the walls, obliged the lord Duffus to ſurrender in one day's time.

§. 15. Theſe wonderful ſucceſſes of Cromwell in Scotland, threw the king into great perplexity, and put him upon making an irruption into England. His fate

fate depended upon the ſucceſs of one battle, and being much nearer to England than Cromwell, who could not overtake him till ſeveral days, he was in hopes to ſtrengthen himſelf greatly, by the coming in of the well-affected in the north. The thing being reſolved, his majeſty ſent expreſſes to all his friends, that they might be ready to receive him, and on the 6th of Auguſt entered England by the way of Carliſle, with about 16,000 men. This ſudden invaſion alarmed the whole Britiſh nation, eſpecially the parliament, who were now ready to cenſure the conduct of their general. But he aſſured them by letter, "that he would overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them, before they came near London." Accordingly he ordered Lambert to follow the king immediately with 7 or 800 horſe, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to moleſt the king's march as much as poſſible, by being near, and obliging him to march cloſe; not engaging his own party in any ſharp action, without a manifeſt advantage, but keeping himſelf entire till the army came up.

The militia of moſt counties was now drawn into the field, in order to obſtruct the king's march. An act was publiſhed, declaring, "that no perſon ſhould hold any correſpondence with Charles Stuart, or his party, or give them encouragement or aſſiſtance, under pain of high-treaſon." And now Cromwell, having ſettled the affairs of Scotland, and left Monk with a ſtrong party, to ſecure that kingdom, entered England with the remainder of the army; and on the 12th of Auguſt croſſed the Tine, upon the banks of which river he gave the ſoldiers ſome repoſe: the corporation of Newcaſtle, in the mean time, bringing them plenty of proviſions.

§. 16. The king's army marched through Lancaſhire, where at the head of it he was proclaimed, as he paſſed along, in all the market towns. But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; for

for beſides that the Scots daily deſerted him, the countries did not come in as he believed they would, being continually obſtructed by the forces of the commonwealth. The paſſage of Warrington-bridge, in Cheſhire, was ſharply conteſted with him by Lambert; but at laſt his majeſty carried it, and continuing on his march with great expedition, on the 23d of Auguſt he came to Worceſter, which he entered after ſome oppoſition; and looking upon it as a convenient place he determined to ſettle there with his army, and wait the coming of the enemy. And that he might not be wanting in any thing that might tend to the preſervation of his forces, he ordered works to be raiſed for better ſecurity. Then he ſent a ſummons to Mackworth, governor of Shrewſbury, inviting him to yield up that garriſon; to which the governor returned a peremptory denial. He alſo ſent letters to Sir Thomas Middleton, to raiſe forces for him in Montgomeryſhire; but Sir Thomas detained the meſſenger priſoner, and ſent up the letter to the parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters in Worceſter, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of Derby. This brave man was the only perſon, who made any conſiderable attempt to ſupport the king. He got together a body of 1500 horſe; but before he could join the king's army, colonel Lilburn ſet upon him near Wiggan, and entirely routed him. The earl himſelf, being wounded, retreated into Cheſhire with about eighty horſe, and from thence to the king at Worceſter.

In the mean time general Cromwell having refreſh'd his ſoldiers near Newcaſtle, immediately marched away by Rippon, Ferrybridge, Doncaſter, Mansfield, and Coventry; and at Keinton joined with the reſt of the parliament's forces under lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major general Deſborough, the lord Grey of Groby, major-general Lambert, and major-general Harriſon; making in all 30,000 men. The commonwealth had indeed, by their new levies, increaſed their forces to a prodigious number; and England never before

fore produced ſo many ſoldiers in ſo ſhort a time: for the ſtanding army, with thoſe other forces raiſed upon this occaſion, are ſaid to have amounted to above 60,000 men.

§. 17. The lord-general being come up, and having obſerved the poſture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon Upton-bridge, ſeven miles from Worceſter; deſigning there, if poſſible, to paſs over his army. Lambert was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detached a ſmall party of horſe and dragoons, to ſee how feaſible the enterpriſe might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this theſe daring fellows paſs'd, who finding the Scots took the alarm, preſently betook themſelves to a church for ſecurity. Hereupon Maſſey, who lay at Upton with about 60 dragoons, and 200 horſe, gave a camiſado on the church; but major-general Lambert, having paſſed over a new ſupply of horſe, fell furiouſly upon the enemy's party, and over-powering them, forced them to a retreat; which Maſſey ſupported with ſo much bravery, that ſometimes facing, then fighting, and ſo falling off, himſelf brought up the rear, and never quitted his ſtation, till he arrived with his men at Worceſter. The bridge being thus gain'd, all poſſible induſtry was uſed to make it up; ſo that Fleetwood's army quickly paſſed over; which ſtill marching forward, they laid a bridge over the Teame, which falls into the Severn, about a mile beneath Worceſter: and the general, in the mean time, cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the Severn on his ſide; for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more ſtraightened.

The Scots drawing out to oppoſe Fleetwood's paſſage, the lord-general reſolved to divert their deſign, or to oblige them to fight on great diſadvantage: to which end, himſelf in perſon led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel Hacker's horſe, and his own life-guard, on that ſide of Worceſter which he deſigned

deſigned to attack. Whilſt this was doing, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, aſſiſted by two regiments of foot, maintained a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the Scots had lined thick with muſqueteers. And indeed they ſtoutly maintained their ground, till colonel Blake's, Gibbons's, and Marſh's regiments came in, and joined with the others againſt them; upon which they retreated to Powick-bridge, where they were again engaged by the colonels Haines, Cobbet, and Matthews; and perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at laſt to ſecure themſelves by flying into Worceſter.

§. 18. Preſently after, the king calling a council of war, it was reſolved to engage Cromwell himſelf. Accordingly, they on a ſudden ſally'd out againſt him with ſo much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not ſuſtain the ſhock, but was forced to retire in ſome diſorder; and his cannon likewiſe were for ſome time in the power of the king's party. But multitudes of freſh forces coming in, at laſt turned the ſcale on Cromwell's ſide. The battle continued for three or four hours with great fierceneſs and various ſucceſs, till the Scots, being overpowered by Cromwell's ſuperior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confuſion to ſecure themſelves. The horſe made as faſt as they could back again, towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being cloſely purſued by ſome of the conquerors, who furiouſly flew through all the ſtreets, doing ſuch terrible execution, that there was nothing to be ſeen for ſome time but blood and ſlaughter.

As ſoon as the lord-general had forced his way through Sudbury-gate, whilſt his party were killing and ſlaying all they met with, he with ſome regiments ran up to the Fort-royal, commanded by colonel Drummond; and being juſt about to ſtorm, he firſt ventured through whole ſhowers of ſhot, to offer the Scots quarter, if they would preſently ſubmit, and deliver up the fort; which they refuſing, he ſoon reduced

ced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the ſword, to the number of 1500 men. In the mean time very conſiderable parties were ſent after the flying enemy, and the country every where roſe upon them.

The ſlain in this battle were reckoned about 4000, and the priſoners taken in the fight, and in the purſuit, amounted to about 10,000; ſo that near all were loſt. The chief of the priſoners were duke Hamilton (brother of the late duke) who died ſoon after of his wounds; the earl of Derby, who not long after was ſentenced to death, and loſt his head at Bolton; the earls of Lauderdale, Carnwarth, Rothes, and Kelly; lord Sinclair, Sir John Packington, Sir Charles Cunningham, Sir Ralph Clare, major-general Montgomery, major-general Piſcotty, Mr. Richard Fanſhaw, ſecretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; beſides ſeveral colonels, and other inferior officers. There were alſo taken all their artillery and baggage, 158 colours, the king's ſtandard, his coach and horſes, and ſeveral other things of great value. The king eſcaped, and having wandered ſome time in diſguiſe about England, he at laſt found means to embark, and landed ſafely at Diepe in France. This great victory, which was juſtly looked upon as the deciſion of the grand cauſe between the king and the commonwealth, was obtained by general Cromwell on the 3d of September, the ſame day twelve-month that the Scots had ſuch a defeat given them by his forces at Dunbar, as loſt them their kingdom *.

§. 19.

* The next day after this victory, the lord-general ſent a letter to the parliament, which was as follows:

"I am not able yet to give you an exact account of the great things which the Lord hath done for this commonwealth, and for his people; and yet I am unwilling to be ſilent, but according to my duty I ſhall repreſent it to you, as it comes to hand. This battle

§. 19. Cromwell, having given this deadly blow to all the king's party, ſtaid no longer at Worceſter, than

battle was fought with various ſucceſs for ſome hours, but ſtill hopeful on your part, and in the end became an abſolute victory, and ſo full an one, as proved a total defeat and ruin of the enemy's army, and poſſeſſion of the town. Our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the ſtreets with very great courage, took all their baggage and artillery. What the ſlain are, I can given you no account, becauſe we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many, and muſt needs be ſo, becauſe the diſpute was long, and very near at hand, and often at puſh of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about ſix or ſeven thouſand priſoners taken here, and many officers and noblemen of quality; duke Hamilton, the earl of Rothes, and divers other noblemen: I hear, the earl of Lauderdale, many officers of great quality, and ſome that will be fit objects of your juſtice. We have ſent very conſiderable parties after the flying enemy: I hear they have taken conſiderable numbers of priſoners, and are very cloſe in the purſuit. Indeed, I hear, the country riſeth upon them every where; and I believe, the forces that lay through providence at Bewdley, and in Shropſhire and Staffordſhire, and thoſe with colonel Lilburne, were in a condition, as if this had been foreſeen, to intercept what ſhould return. A more particular account than this will be prepared for you, as we are able. I heard they had not many more than a thouſand horſe in their body that fled, and I believe we have near four thouſand forces following and interpoſing between them and home. Their army was about ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, and fought ours on Worceſter ſide Severn, almoſt with their whole, whilſt we had engaged half our army on the other ſide, but with parties of theirs. Indeed it was a ſtiff buſineſs; yet I do not think we have loſt two hundred men. Your new rais'd forces did per-

than to ſee the walls of it levelled with the ground, and the dikes filled with earth; thereby to curb the diſaffection of the inhabitants. This done, he marched up in a triumphant manner to London, driving 4 or 5000 priſoners before him. Beyond Ayleſbury, he was met by four commiſſioners from the parliament, whom they ſent to pay him all the marks of honour and eſteem. When he came to Acton, he was ſolemnly met by the ſpeaker, and the reſt of the members

form ſingular good ſervice, for which they deſerve a very high eſtimation and acknowledgement; as alſo for their willingneſs thereunto, foraſmuch as the ſame hath added ſo much to the reputation of your affairs: They are all diſpatched home again; which, I hope, will be much for the eaſe and ſatisfaction of the country, which is a great fruit of the ſucceſſes.

The dimenſions of this mercy are above my thoughts; it is, for ought I know, a crowning mercy; ſurely, if it be not, ſuch a one we ſhall have, if this provoke thoſe that are concerned in it to thankfulneſs, and the parliament to do the will of him, who hath done his will for it, and for the nation; whoſe good pleaſure is, to eſtabliſh the nation, and the change of the government, by making the people ſo willing to the defence thereof, and ſo ſignally to bleſs the endeavours of your ſervants in this late great work. I am bold, humbly to beg, that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of his honour, who hath wrought ſo great ſalvation, and that the fatneſs of theſe continued mercies may not occaſion pride and wantonneſs, as formerly the like hath done to a choſen people. But that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority, and the people ſo proſpered, and bleſſed, and witneſſed to, humble and faithful; that juſtice and righteouſneſs, mercy and truth may flow from you, as a thankful return to our glorious God: This ſhall be the prayer of, Sir, your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

O. Cromwell.

bers and council of ſtate; and ſoon after by the lord-mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, and many perſons of quality, with the militia, and multitudes of people; who welcomed him with loud ſhouts and acclamations, and ſeveral vollies of great and ſmall ſhot. Whitelock ſays, he carried himſelf with great affability, and ſeeming humility; and in all his diſcourſes about the buſineſs of Worceſter, would ſeldom mention any thing of himſelf, but the galantry of the officers and ſoldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God.

After ſome ſmall repoſe, on the 16th of September, he took his place in parliament, where the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to him, congratulating his return after ſo many atchievements, and giving him the thanks of the houſe for his ſervices to the commonwealth. On the ſame day, he with his chief officers, was feaſted in the city, with all poſſible ſtate and pomp: and ſoon after two acts were drawn up, that were much to his honour; one for a ſolemn thankſgiving-day, and the other for a yearly obſervation of the 3d of September, in all the three kingdoms. The parliament likewiſe ſettled 4000 l. a year upon him, out of the duke of Buckingham and the marquis of Worceſter, beſides 2,500 l. per Annum formerly granted.

§. 20. Soon after the battle of Worceſter, the Iſle of Man, bravely defended by the heroick counteſs of Derby, and the iſle of Jerſey, that had been long maintained by Sir George Carteret, were both reduced to the parliament's obedience. They had long ſince been maſters of Guernſey, except the chief fort, called Cornet-caſtle, which had been a great while defended by Roger Burges, but was about the latter end of October ſurrendered by him upon very good articles. And the Scilly iſles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were ſome time before reduced by a part of the parliament's fleet.

Major-general Monk, whom the lord-general had left in Scotland, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good ſucceſs. Before the fight of Worceſter, he took Sterling, the chief ſtrength of the Scots; as alſo Dundee, with as terrible an execution as Cromwell had before uſed at Tredagh; and ſurpriſed a convention of the Scotch nobility, among whom was old general Leſley, and ſent them priſoners to London. The example that was made of Dundee, occaſioned ſuch a terror, that St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Dunbarton, and Dunnoter caſtles, with other towns, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds, either voluntarily declared for the conquerors, or ſurrendered upon ſummons. Notwithſtanding this, the Scots made one attempt more, under Middleton, Huntley, Glencarne, and others in the Highlands: but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed and diſperſed by colonel Morgan: ſo that the Engliſh extended their conqueſts through all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the iſles of Orkney and Shetland, which now ſubmitted to them. After this, there was no more work for our general in the field; who therefore continued about London moſt of the remainder of his days.

And here I ſhall diſmiſs the affairs of Scotland with the remarks that biſhop Burnet makes on the ſtate of that kingdom, after their abſolute reduction of it under the power of the Engliſh. "After this, ſays he, the country was kept in great order: ſome caſtles in the Highlands had garriſons put into them, that were ſo careful in their diſcipline, and ſo exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order, than during the uſurpation. There was a conſiderable force of about ſeven or eight thouſand men kept in Scotland: theſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplined. The pay of the army brought ſo much money into the kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flouriſhing ſtate. Cromwell built three citadels, at Leith, Air, and Inverneſs, beſides many little forts. There was good juſtice done, and vice was ſuppreſſed and puniſhed; ſo that we always

ways reckon thoſe eight years of uſurpation, a time of great peace and proſperity. There was alſo a ſort of union of the three kingdoms in one parliament, where Scotland had its repreſentatives. The marquis of Argyle went up one of our commiſſioners."

§. 21. Thus have we gone through Cromwell's military life, and with as much brevity as poſſible, except in two or three of the principal actions, which I have taken more at large from the hiſtorians of the time. His next conqueſt was over the parliament who employed him, by another ſort of warfare, in which he was no leſs expert and ſucceſsful than in the open field. But that will be the ſubject of another chapter. I would only obſerve at the end of this, that with whomſoever of the great captains of antiquity we compare him, Cromwell is in no danger of loſing by the compariſon*. Like Lucullus, he came to the field unexperienced, and ſhone out at once an accompliſhed general. For the rapidity of his conqueſts he might vie with Alexander, or, whom he more nearly reſembled, with Julius Cæſar. That an army of veteran Greeks, though fewer in number, ſhould triumph over the effeminate Aſians, was what might well enough be expected: but where Roman was oppoſed to Roman, and Briton to Briton, it ſeems but an act of juſtice to aſcribe it to the generals, that one of theſe parties was for ever victorious; eſpecially if the party which prevailed, as in Cromwell's caſe, appeared at firſt under many diſadvantages.

Thoſe who conclude, from the ſeverity uſed at Tredagh, and a few other places, that Cromwell in his temper was ſavage and cruel, are certainly much miſtaken. We find him excuſing thoſe actions himſelf from the neceſſity of affairs, which has always been taken for a ſufficient reaſon in matters of this

* See the panegyrick in the appendix.

nature. And if we conſider the barbarities which the Iriſh, for ſome years before, had been practiſing on the poor Engliſh proteſtants, eſpecially in the horrid maſſacre of 1641, we ſhould have no reaſon to wonder if a ſpirit of vengeance had prevailed in the Engliſh army, when they had it in their power to make retaliation. We ſee nothing however of this kind breaking out among them, which doubtleſs was owing, in a great meaſure, to the good conduct of the general, and the ſtrict diſcipline for which he was ſo remarkable.

## CHAP. V.

*A view of* CROMWELL's *conduct towards king* Charles I. *with a vindication of him in many particulars.*

§. 1. IT cannot be denied that Cromwell, in a multitude of inſtances, appears to have been a great maſter of diſſimulation: and if the old maxim be true, "that he who knows not how to diſſemble, knows not how to reign," we ſhall find it was neceſſary for him to be ſo. This puts us under a difficulty, however, with regard to many of his actions, to find what were his real motives and views. But if we may judge from a ſeries of the moſt probable circumſtances, we have no reaſon to think that he had at firſt, or even for a long time after he arrived at great power, any ſettled deſign againſt the king's life. It was owing to him *, indeed, that the king was

* The animoſities between the parliament and army ſtill continuing and increaſing, the agitators feared the parliament would now, for their own ſecurity, receive the king upon any terms, or rather put

was ſeized at Holmby-houſe, contrary to the ſenſe, and without the knowledge of the parliament: but this

put themſelves under his protection, that they might the better ſubdue the army, and reduce them to obedience. Wherefore, being inſtigated thereto by Cromwell, Ney, on the 4th. of June, ſent cornet Joyce, one of their body, with a party of horſe, to take him out of the hands of the parliament-commiſſioners, and bring him away to the army. Accordingly, Joyce about midnight drew up his horſe in order before Holmby-houſe, demanding entrance. Colonel Greaves, and major-general Brown, who being alarm'd, had doubled the guards, enquiring his name and buſineſs, he ſaid his name was Joyce, a cornet in colonel Whalley's regiment, and his buſineſs was to ſpeak with the king. Being aſked from whom, he ſaid, "From myſelf; my errand is to the king, I muſt and I will ſpeak with him." Greaves and Brown commanded their men within to ſtand to their arms; but they, ſeeing them to be their fellow-ſoldiers of the ſame army, open'd the gates, and ſhook hands with them as old friends. The cornet placed his centinels at the commiſſioners chamber-doors, and went himſelf, by the back-ſtairs, directly to the king's bed-chamber. The grooms being much ſurpriſed, deſired him to lay aſide his arms, and aſſured him, that in the morning he ſhould ſpeak with the king: but he, with ſword and piſtol, inſiſted to have the door opened, and made ſo much noiſe that it waked his majeſty, who ſent him out word, "that he would not riſe nor ſpeak with him till the morning: upon which the cornet retir'd in a huff. The king getting up early in the morning, ſent for him, who with great boldneſs told his majeſty, he was commanded to remove him. Whereupon the king deſired the commiſſioners might be called; but Joyce ſaid, "they had nothing to do but to return back to the parliament." Being aſk'd for a ſight of his inſtructions,

this was done with no other view than to get his majeſty,

ſtructions, he told his majeſty, "he ſhould ſee them preſently;" ſo drawing up his troop in the inner court, "Theſe, Sir, ſaid he, are my inſtructions." The king having took a good view of them, and finding them to be proper men, well mounted and arm'd, told the cornet with a ſmile, "his inſtructions were in fair characters, legible without ſpelling." Joyce then preſſing the king to go along with him, his majeſty refuſed, unleſs the commiſſioners might attend him; to which the cornet reply'd, "he was very indifferent, they might go if they would." So the king, being attended by the commiſſioners of the parliament, went along with Joyce, and was that night conducted by him to colonel Montague's houſe at Hinchingbrook, and the next night to Sir John Cut's at Childerſley near Cambridge. Here Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, Skippon, and many other officers came to wait upon the king, and ſome of them kiſſed his hand. 'Tis ſaid, that Joyce being told, that the general was diſpleaſed with him, for taking the king from Holmby, he anſwered, "that lieutenant-general Cromwell had given him orders at London to do all that he had done;" and indeed Fairfax now reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell's judgment, who led and governed him as he pleaſed. And though he was at firſt diſſatisfied with this proceeding of Joyce, yet Cromwell ſoon appeaſed him by repreſenting to him, "that nothing could have been done of greater advantage to the army and their generals, to the church and ſtate, than what Joyce had been doing: that the king was on the point of making an accommodation with the parliament, who had determined to ſend colonel Greaves to fetch him; and if Joyce had not fetch'd him, there would have been an end of both officers and army, and all the pains they had taken for the publick good, would not only have been uſeleſs, but criminal." Life of Oliver Cromwell, in 8vo.

jeſty into the hands of the army, who were jealous of the parliament, as the parliament were of them.

For when the royal power was quite broken, and the royal perſon made a priſoner, miſunderſtandings began to ariſe among the victors, from the ſoldiers arrogating more to themſelves than their maſters were willing to allow. On this account it was imagined, that they who could ſecure the king's perſon, might play him off againſt the other party, and reſtore him upon their own terms, without any proviſion for the others. It was even ſuſpected at this time, that the parliament had actually a deſign of reſtoring the king's authority, in order to make uſe of it to ruin their own army. But the chief officers were more tenacious of the power they had acquired, and in particular Cromwell, who was a member of parliament as well as a general, than thus to reſign it without any ſecurity to themſelves. It was thought neceſſary, therefore, in order to leſſen the parliament's authority, and increaſe their own, to take this otherwiſe unwarrantable ſtep; of which Cromwell was the chief adviſer, as appears from the teſtimony of Joyce, who acted in the affair.

§. 2. Cromwell's grand deſign, we are aſſured, was to hinder any conjunction between the king and the preſbyterians, the army's greateſt enemies; and having now got him into his hands, he ſpirited up an addreſs from the army, containing a charge of high treaſon againſt * eleven members of the houſe of commons, who were the heads of the preſbyterian party. This had the deſired effect; for knowing this charge was rather to hinder their influencing the houſe, than with a view of proceeding capitally

* Theſe members were, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clotworthy, Serjeant Glyn, Mr. Anthony Nichols, Mr. Walter Long, Sir William Lewis, colonel Edward Harley, Sir William Waller, colonel Maſſey, and Sir John Maynard.

againſt them, they determined to withdraw themſelves voluntarily, and leave the ſway of the houſe, in the hands of the oppoſite party; who, though called independants, were made up of men of different perſuaſions, that were in general friends to the army. There was alſo a moderate party in the houſe, who uſually voted on the ſide of liberty, till they found what lengths they were like to be led.

Having proceeded thus far, Cromwell's next intentions were to reſtore the king by means of the independants, now the predominant party; thinking that liberty of conſcience would thereby be better ſecured, than it could be under a preſbyterian hierarchy. And the king himſelf began to think his condition altered for the better, and to look upon the independant intereſt as more conſiſtent with epiſcopacy than the preſbyterian, becauſe it might ſubſiſt under any form, which the other could not do. He was alſo much more civilly treated ſince his being in the army, than he was before while the parliament's priſoner: for though he was obliged to attend the motion of the camp, he was every where allowed to appear in ſtate and luſtre, with his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all his ſervants in their proper places. His majeſty received alſo an addreſs from the army, full of proteſtations of duty: which was ſet on foot by Cromwell and Ireton; though, to prevent the parliament's jealouſy of them, they were at firſt ſomewhat reſerved in their own behaviour; and even deſired to be excuſed from ſeeing his majeſty often, and waved the ceremony of kiſſing his hand when before him, notwithſtanding all the addreſs which his majeſty made uſe of, as to perſons he knew could do him ſervice.

After ſome time, however, Cromwell's behaviour was more open and free; he viſited the king frequently, and had long conferences with him. One in particular he is ſaid to have promiſed his majeſty, "that if he and his party would ſit ſtill, and neither act nor declare againſt the army, he would reſtore him,

him, and make him the greateſt prince in Chriſtendom." Though in private, among his friends, he boaſted, "that now he had got the king into his hands, he had got the parliament in his pocket." His majeſty knew that Cromwell bore the greateſt ſway in the army, and finding him not averſe to his intereſt, was ſo indiſcreet as to ſay to general Fairfax, upon his offering him his ſervice, "Sir, I have as good intereſt in the army as you." Which expreſſion was taken very ill by the general, and did the king no ſervice.

§. 3. But notwithſtanding the king's indiſcretion, Cromwell was certainly in earneſt as to his deſign of a reſtoration, though he durſt not openly avow it. This was evident from his meſſage to Sir John Berkeley, who was ſent over by the queen and the prince to promote an agreement between the king and the army. Sir Allen Appeſley, the meſſenger, was ordered to inform Sir John, that "Cromwell well remembered what he had once heard him ſay, concerning the difficulty of introducing a popular government, againſt the king, the nobility and gentry, the preſbyterians, and the genius of the nation; and that therefore it would be well for the independants to do what the preſbyterians had only pretended to, and reſtore the king and people to their juſt and antient rights; this being the only way to obtain truſt and power for themſelves, as much as ſubjects are capable of: whereas, if they aimed at more, it would be attended with a great hatred, and their own deſtruction. That though Cromwell, when Sir John held this diſcourſe, only gave him the hearing, yet he had ſince found by experience, that all, or the greateſt part of it was reaſonable, and he was reſolved to act accordingly, as might be perceived by what had already paſſed; deſiring that the queen and the prince would not condemn his party, but ſuſpend their opinion of them, and their intentions, till their future carriage ſhould make full proof of their integrity,

grity; of which they had already given ſome teſtimony."

And when after leave obtained from Cromwell, Sir John came to wait on the king, Cromwell confirmed with his own mouth all that Sir Allen had reported; with this addition, "that he thought no man could enjoy his life and eſtate quietly, unleſs the king had his right; which, ſays he, we have already declared to the world in general terms, and will more particularly very ſoon, when we ſhall comprize the ſeveral intereſts of the royaliſts, preſbyterians, and independants, as far as they are conſiſtent with one another." And ſome time after Sir John meeting him at Reading, as he was coming from the king at Caverſham, Cromwell told him, "that he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children." He even wept while he mentioned it; and added, "that never was man ſo abuſed as himſelf in the ſiniſter opinion he had of the king, whom he now thought the moſt upright and conſcientious man of the three kingdoms:" Concluding with this wiſh, "that God would be pleaſed to look upon him, according to the ſincerity of his heart towards the king."

§. 4. Indeed the army in general, as well as Cromwell, appeared at this time very zealous for the king's intereſt; and yet they ſeemed to ſuſpect the reality of one another's intentions. Some of the principal agitators whiſpered their ſuſpicions of the lieutenant-general to Berkeley, but they appeared to be ſuſpicions only; every one confeſſing, that if Cromwell and Ireton were not hearty for the king, they were complete diſſemblers. And what room could there be to imagine this, when propoſals were actually drawn up by Ireton for a reconciliation, by which epiſcopacy was not to be aboliſhed, nor the militia taken from the crown? when they both preſſed the king to conſent to them without delay, there being no aſſurance of

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the army, who had changed more than once? Cromwell, in particular, was ſo earneſt in the affair, that he blamed Ireton's ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his backwardneſs in coming up to his majeſty's ſenſe; telling Sir John Berkeley on the other hand, "that he wiſhed he would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up to narrow principles; becauſe there was great room to think, that the army would not perſiſt in their good intentions towards the king."

About the ſame time arrived Mr. Aſhburnham, upon the like meſſage as Sir John Berkeley. This gentleman ſoon got familiar with colonel Whalley, who commanded the guard that attended the king; and alſo with Cromwell and Ireton, who ſeemed greatly to come into his meaſures, ſo as even to raiſe a jealouſy in the army of their carrying on a ſeparate treaty. But all theſe promiſing circumſtances were ſoon defeated, merely by the imprudence of his majeſty, and thoſe about him; as we ſhall ſee by what follows.

§. 5. The parliament feared nothing ſo much, as a conjunction between the king and the army: and now there was ſuch an appearance of it, many of the king's friends, through an intemperate zeal, made it the ſubject of their triumph. Hereupon the two houſes ſent a committee to his majeſty, with an addreſs of another ſtrain than they had lately uſed, making many proteſtations of duty, and declaring, "that if he was not in all reſpects treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it was not their fault, who were deſirous he might be at full liberty, and do what he would." The army, at the ſame time, was not without jealouſy, that the king hearkened to ſome ſecret propoſitions from the preſbyterian party, and deſigned to make an abſolute breach between the parliament and the army; which occaſioned Ireton to ſay to him, "Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the parliament." In the mean time the king, finding

finding himſelf courted on all hands, was ſo confident of his own importance, that he imagined himſelf able to turn the ſcale on which ſide he pleaſed.

This high conſideration of himſelf, which was one of king Charles's greateſt foibles, was the occaſion that when the propoſals were brought him from the army, and his concurrence to them humbly deſired, he entertained their commiſſioners with haughty and diſobliging language; declaring, "that no man ſhould ſuffer for his ſake, (there being juſtice required on ſome of his evil adviſers) and that he repented of nothing ſo much, as that he paſſed the bill againſt the earl of Strafford: alſo, that he would have the church of England eſtabliſhed by the propoſals;" there being nothing in them concerning church-government. Theſe propoſals however, were much more moderate than thoſe ſent to him from the parliament: but he unhappily thought, that they proceeded only from the neceſſity they had of him; and in diſcourſing with the commiſſioners, would frequently uſe ſuch expreſſions as theſe, "You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin, unleſs I ſuſtain you." This kind of proceeding greatly aſtoniſh'd his own party, as well as the deputies from the army; whereupon he began to ſoften his diſcourſe, but it was too late: for colonel Rainſborough, who ſeemed leaſt of all to deſire an accommodation, had retired from the conference, and, going immediately to the army, had given them to underſtand what treatment their commiſſioners and propoſals had met with.

It may not be amiſs, on this occaſion, to introduce part of Dr. Wellwood's character of this unhappy prince, in which he ſeems to have had ſome view to the preſent affair. After telling us, "that if king Charles had any perſonal faults, they were much over weighed by his virtues; but that an immoderate deſire of power, beyond what our conſtitution allow'd of, was the rock he ſplit upon;" the doctor adds, "there was another error that run through the whole management of his affairs, both domeſtick and publick,

lick, and which occaſioned a great part of his misfortunes: he appeared many times ſtiff and poſitive in denying at firſt what he granted afterwards out of time, and too late to give ſatisfaction; which encouraged intereſted perſons to aſk more than they thought of at firſt, and loſt him the fruits of his former conceſſions: ſo that in the whole conduct of his life he verified this maxim, that errors in government have ruined more princes than their perſonal vices."

§. 6. To proceed with our hiſtory: There happened, about the time we are now upon, an inſurrection in the city of London, occaſioned by the parliament's voting the city militia, through Cromwell's influence, into other hands than their own. The mob that was got down to Weſtminſter, on this occaſion, not only obliged both houſes to revoke their ordinance, but forced them to paſs a vote, "that the king ſhould come forthwith to London, and be invited thither with honour, freedom, and ſafety." This violence put upon them, occaſioned ſeveral of the members, and in particular the ſpeakers of both houſes, to repair with ſpeed to the army, and offer up their complaints. The army could not have deſired a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore received the members with all the appearances of reſpect, profeſſed their ſubmiſſion to the parliament, and declared, "that they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full power, or periſh in the attempt." Nor did they fail of their promiſe; for though the houſes had choſen new ſpeakers, and paſſed ſeveral* votes

* Theſe votes were, "Firſt, That the king ſhould come to London. Secondly, That the militia of London ſhould be authorized to raiſe forces for the defence of the city. Thirdly, That power be given to the ſame militia to chuſe a general. Fourthly, That the eleven members impeached by the army, ſhould reſume their ſeats in parliament."

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votes according to the mind of the citizens, yet all thoſe proceedings were diſannull'd upon the army's coming.

The citizens, armed with theſe powers, proceed to raiſe forces under the command of Waller, Maſſey, and Pointz; but they were very much diſcouraged in their proceedings by the news of the general rendezvous of the army on Hounſlow-heath, where the two ſpeakers appeared with their maces, and ſuch members as accompanied them, viz. the earls of Northumberland, Saliſbury, and Kent, the lord Grey of Werke, the lord Howard, the lord Wharton, the earl of Mulgrave, and the lord Say, and ſix lords more, with the earl of Mancheſter, their ſpeaker; and about a hundred members of the houſe of commons, with their ſpeaker, Mr. Lenthall. Beſides, the borough of Southwark was generally for the army, which was now marching towards London, to reſtore the members who fled to them, to their places and authorities. Part of the army ſeized upon the block-houſe at Graveſend, and blocked up the city by water towards the eaſt, and the general with the reſt of the army towards the weſt. Upon this, the aldermen and common-council of the city deſerted their three generals, and ſent to Fairfax for a pacification; which he granted them upon theſe conditions. "Firſt, That they ſhould deſert the parliament then ſitting, and the eleven members. Secondly, That they ſhould recal their late declaration. Thirdly, That they ſhould relinquiſh their preſent militia. Fourthly, That they ſhould deliver up to the general all their forts, and the tower of London. Fifthly, That they ſhould diſband all the forces they had lately raiſed, and do all things elſe, which were neceſſary for the publick tranquillity."

The next day, Cromwell marched to Weſtminſter, and placed guards in the court, in the hall, and even at the doors of the two houſes: and a little after, general Fairfax conducted the ſeveral members who had fled

coming to London; the members were reſtored, and every thing ſettled again as the officers, or rather as Cromwell, who governed all the reſt, would have it.

§. 7. But the city being ſubdued, and the parliament and army ſeemingly united, there aroſe differences in the army itſelf. The agitators, whoſe riſe we ſhall mention elſewhere, were no longer inclined to an agreement with the king, and declared their diſcontent at the intimacy kept up by Cromwell and Ireton with his majeſty's agents. The doors of theſe commanders, they ſaid, were open to the royaliſts, and ſhut to their own ſoldiers. Cromwell was very uneaſy at theſe diſcourſes, and informed the king's party of them, ſpeaking thus to Aſhburnham and Berkeley: "If I am an honeſt man, I have ſaid enough of the ſincerity of my intentions; and if I am not, nothing is enough: therefore I conjure you, as you tender the king's ſervice, not to come ſo frequently to my quarters, but to ſend your buſineſs in private; the ſuſpicion of me being grown ſo great, that I am afraid to be in them myſelf." Thus the agitators, who were ſet up at firſt by Cromwell, to oppoſe the parliament's deſign of diſbanding, began now to be very troubleſome to him, and at laſt obliged him to abandon the king's intereſt, in order to make his peace with them.

fled to the army, to their ſeats in parliament; where they annulled all the acts and orders, which had paſſed ſince the 26th of July. Two days after, the army marched, as it were, in triumph through the city, the general leading the avant-guard, major-general Skippon the main body, and Cromwell the rear-guard; and all the ſoldiers having laurel branches in their hats. After this pompous march, the army was diſtributed into quarters, in Kent, Surrey, and Eſſex; and thus they ſurrounded the city. Life of Cromwell, p. 58.

For

For the parliament having addreſſed themſelves again to the king, Cromwell found means to prevent his treating with them, and got it inſinuated, "that if the king would aſſent to their propoſals, lower than thoſe of the parliament, the army would ſettle him again on his throne." His majeſty, upon this, inſtead of liſtening to the parliament, deſired a perſonal treaty on the propoſals of the army. With this the officers were well pleaſed; and Cromwell and Ireton, with others of their party, preſſed his majeſty's deſires in the houſe with great earneſtneſs. But ſo far were they from ſucceeding, that they met with a vigorous oppoſition, and loſt moſt of their friends in the parliament, where they were now looked upon as betrayers of the cauſe. The army likewiſe, which then lay about Putney, were no leſs diſſatisfy'd with their proceedings; ſo that the agitators complained openly in council, both of the king and the malignants, about declaring, "that ſince the king had rejected their propoſals, they were no farther engaged to him, but were now to conſult their own ſafety, and the publick good; and having the power devolved upon them by deciſion of the ſword, and being convinced that monarchy was inconſiſtent with the good of the nation, they reſolved to uſe their endeavours to reduce England to a commonwealth." They alſo deſigned to have ſeized Aſhburnham and Berkeley, the king's agents, and to wreſt the king out of the hands of the two traitors, as they called Cromwell and Ireton.

§. 8. Cromwell was ſo terrify'd with theſe things, that he thought it neceſſary to bring the army to a general rendezvous; knowing that moſt of the great officers were ſtill well affected to the king, and diſliked theſe proceedings of the agitators, whoſe power he hoped by that means to ſuppreſs. The agitators, in the mean time, endeavoured to prevent the rendezvous, and to get the king into their own hands. But Cromwell was too hard for them all: for finding

how

how matters were like to go, he acquainted the king with his danger, and aſſuring him of his real ſervice, adviſed him to eſcape where he might be more ſecure. His majeſty took the general's counſel *, and leaving Hampton court, where he then reſided, made away for the iſle of Wight, accompanied by Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and ſome others. They were well received by colonel Hammond, the governor, who met the king at Titchfield, and conducted him forwards in his own perſon. Cromwell ſoon received letters of the king's arrival, which he communicated to the parliament, and thereby removed the conſternation they were before in on account of his eſcape. And lord Clarendon remarks, that he made the relation of this matter with ſo unuſual a gaity, that all men concluded, his majeſty was where Cromwell deſired he ſhould be.

The agitators now declared openly againſt the king, and againſt the continuance of the preſent par-

* Milton endeavours to vindicate Cromwell from being the adviſer of this flight. "I admire thoſe cavaliers, ſays he, who never ſtick to affirm ſo often, that Charles was one of the moſt prudent perſons living, and yet that the ſame man was hardly ever at his own diſpoſal: that, whether with his enemy or his friend, in the court, or in the camp, he was almoſt always in the power of another; now of his wife, then of the biſhops; now of the peers, then of the ſoldiery; and laſt, of his enemies; that, for the moſt part, he followed the worſer counſels, and, almoſt always, of the worſer men. Charles is perſuaded; Charles is impoſed on; Charles is deceived; fear is impreſſed on him; vain hope is ſet before him! Charles is carried and fetched about as if he was the common prey of all, both friends and enemies! But let them either blot theſe things out of their writings, or elſe give over trumpeting up the ſagacity of Charles." *Defenſio ſecundo populi Anglicani*, Mr. Peck's tranſlation.

liament;

liament; requiring that a new one might be elected, by a more equal diſtribution of the counties, cities, and boroughs. A great part of the army came over to them, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of levellers: and at the general rendezvous, they that were of this party wore every one a paper in his hat, with theſe words written upon it, "The rights of England, and the conſent of the people." And tho' Cromwell, by his ſingular addreſs and extraordinary courage, did for the preſent quell this ſpirit in the army; yet ſo apprehenſive was he of the ſecret remains of it, and the conſequences that might hence enſue, and ſo weary was he of treating with the king to the purpoſe, that he ſoon altered his conduct to both parties, and reconciled himſelf to the one, by abandoning the other.

§. 9. To vindicate Cromwell, as much as poſſible, in the affair of leaving the king, I ſhall inſert the ſubſtance of what is collected on this head, by the anonymous author of Cromwell's life. He tells us from Ludlow, that colonel Hammond and Mr. Aſhburnham had frequent conferences with the king, who made ſuch promiſes to Hammond, that he expreſs'd his earneſt deſire that the army might reſume their power, and rid themſelves of the agitators, whoſe authority, he ſaid, he never liked. To this end he ſent one Mr. Traughton, his Chaplain, to the army, to adviſe them to make uſe of their late ſucceſs againſt the agitators; and ſoon after he preſs'd the king to ſend ſome of thoſe who attended on him, to the army, with letters of compliment to Fairfax, and others of greater confidence to Cromwell and Ireton. He alſo wrote to them himſelf, "conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with the king, and not to expoſe themſelves to the fantaſtick giddineſs of the agitators." Sir John Berkeley was appointed by the king, in purſuance of Hammond's advice, to go to the army; who taking with him Mr. Henry Berkeley his couſin,

went

went over with a paſs from the Governor of Cowes. Being on his way towards the army, he met Mr. Traughton on his return between Bagſhot and Windſor, who inform'd him, that he had no good news to carry back to his majeſty, the army having enter'd into new reſolutions concerning his perſon. He was not gone much farther, before he was met by cornet Joyce, who told him, "that he was aſtoniſhed at his deſign of going to the army, for it had been debated amongſt the agitators, whether, in juſtification of themſelves, the king ſhould be brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himſelf to be. Sir John however reſolved to go to the army, and being arrived at Windſor, went to general Fairfax's quarters, where the officers were aſſembled. Being admitted, he delivered his letters to the general, who receiving them, ordered him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was called in, when the general, with ſome ſeverity in his looks, told him, that they were the parliament's army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the king's motion about peace, but muſt refer thoſe matters, and the king's letters, to their conſideration. Sir John then looked upon Cromwell, Ireton, and the reſt of his acquaintance; but they ſaluted him very coldly, and ſhewing him colonel Hammond's letter to them, ſmiled with diſdain upon it.

Finding himſelf thus diſappointed, Berkeley went to his lodging; where having ſtaid two hours without any company, he at laſt ordered his ſervant to go out, and ſee if he could find any of his acquaintance. The ſervant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his maſter, that he would meet him at ſuch a place at midnight. They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted Berkeley in general, that he had no good news to tell him; and then proceeding to particulars, ſaid, "You know, that I and my friends engaged ourſelves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo, we were abus'd: that ſince the tumults in the army, we did miſtruſt Cromwell and Ireton; whereof I informed

I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolved, notwithſtanding our engagement, to deſtroy the king and his poſterity; to which purpoſe Ireton has made two propoſitions this afternoon; one, that you ſhould be ſent priſoner to London; the other, that none ſhould ſpeak with you upon pain of death; and I do now hazard my life by doing it. The way deſigned to ruin his majeſty, is to ſend 800 of the moſt diſaffected in the army to ſecure his perſon, and then to bring him to a trial; and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days; and therefore, if the king can eſcape, let him do it as he loves his life."

Sir John being exceedingly troubled at this relation, aſk'd his friend the reaſon of this change, ſeeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and the officers were become ſuperior ſince the laſt rendezvous. Whereupon he gave him this account. "That though one of the mutineers was ſhot * to death, eleven more impriſon'd, and the reſt in appearance over-awed; yet they were ſo far from being ſo in reality, that two-thirds of the army had been ſince with Cromwell and Ireton, to let them know, that though they were ſure to periſh in the enterprize, they ſhould leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their ſenſe; and if all failed, they would make a diviſion in the army, and unite with any who would aſſiſt them in the deſtruction of their oppoſers. That Cromwell and Ireton reaſoned thus with themſelves, "If the army divide, the greateſt part will join with the preſbyterians, and will moſt probably prevail to our ruin; or we ſhall be obliged in ſuch a manner to apply ourſelves to the king, as rather to beg than offer any aſſiſtance: which if the king ſhall give, and be ſo fortunate as to prevail; if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all we can expect, and more than we can aſſure ourſelves of:" and thereupon concluded, that if they could not bring the army to their ſenſe, it

* See the chapter next following, §. 7.

was beſt to comply with them, a diviſion being utterly deſtructive to both.

In purſuance therefore of this reſolution, Cromwell employed all his thoughts and endeavours to make his peace with the party that was moſt ſet againſt the king. He alſo ſent comfortable meſſages to the priſoners he had ſeiz'd at the late rendezvous, aſſuring them, that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice; and by theſe and the like arts, he perfected his reconciliation with the levelling party.

Sir John Berkeley returning to his lodging, diſpatch'd his couſin to the iſle of Wight with two letters; one to colonel Hammond, giving a general account, and doubtful judgment of affairs in the army; another in cypher, with a particular relation of the conference he had with the fore-mentioned officer, and a ſupplication to his majeſty, to think of nothing but his immediate eſcape. The next morning he ſent colonel Cook to Cromwell, to acquaint him that he had letters and inſtructions to him from the king: but Cromwell returned him anſwer by the meſſenger, "that he durſt not ſee him, it being very dangerous to them both;" aſſuring him, "that he would ſerve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but deſired, that it might not be expected that he ſhould periſh for his ſake."

Thus we have ſeen the motives that prevailed on this famous general to abandon the king's intereſt. And much the ſame account is given by Salmonet, who will not at all be ſuſpected of being partial to Cromwell: ſo that if he hitherto acted ſincerely in his deſign to ſerve the king, as is moſt probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, aſcribe to him more ambitious views than he really had. He was indeed ambitious enough, and as good as any man at the art of diſſimulation: but certainly nothing hinders, but a great diſſembler may ſometimes be in earneſt; and his ambition might be gratify'd by the private treaty, that was ſuppoſed to be carried on between

him

him and the king, by ſtipulating ſuch honours and advancements for himſelf and family, as reſtoring the king to his throne might reaſonably lay claim to.

§. 10. And here we cannot omit another account, that is given by ſome, of Cromwell's falling off from the king, and deſerting his intereſt. They tell us, there was a report, that Cromwell made a private article with the king, that if his majeſty aſſented to the army's propoſals, he ſhould be made Earl of Eſſex, knight of the garter, and firſt captain of the horſe-guards; and Ireton was to be made lieutenant of Ireland. Other honours and employments were likewiſe ſtipulated for Cromwell's family and friends. But the king was ſo uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the propoſal, he ſent a letter to acquaint her, "that tho' he aſſented to the army's propoſals, yet if by ſo doing he could procure peace, it would be eaſier then to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that governed the army." Cromwell, who had his ſpies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon reſolved never to truſt the king more. This is ſaid to have happened before the king left Hampton court: for upon this, they tell us, Cromwell fearing he could not manage his deſigns, if the king was ſo near the parliament at Hampton-court, gave him private information, that he was in no ſafety there, by reaſon of the hatred which the agitators bore him; and that he would be more ſecure in the iſle of Wight. Hereupon the king, whilſt the parliament and the Scotch commiſſioners were debating on his anſwer to their propoſitions, made his eſcape as before related.

We leave the reader to judge of this ſtory as he thinks fit. Only thus much we may obſerve, that father Orleans ſays, 'twas believed in France, that the king had deceived Cromwell; though he makes this to be purely the effect of Cromwell's artifice. And the lord Clarendon ſpeaks of Cromwell's complaining

that

that the king could not be truſted, though he makes his whole carriage towards his majeſty to be nothing but hypocriſy and diſſimulation, in order to bring about his own deſigns. "Aſhburnham and Berkeley, ſays he, received many advertiſements (but a little while before the king's eſcape) from ſome officers with whom he moſt converſed, and who would have been glad that the king might have been reſtor'd by the army, for the preferments which they expected might fall to their ſhare, that Cromwell and Ireton reſolved never to truſt the king, or do any thing towards his reſtoration." And a little after he ſays, "that Cromwell himſelf expoſtulated with Mr. Aſhburnham, and complained, that the king could not be truſted, and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the preſbyterians of the city, to raiſe new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the Scotch commiſſioners, to engage the nation again in blood: and therefore he would not be anſwerable, if any thing fell out amiſs and contrary to expectation."

§. 11. Agreeable enough to this account is the relation given by the author of the memoirs of the lord Broghill, of a converſation that paſſed between the ſaid lord and Cromwell, whilſt he was in Ireland, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord Broghill being in diſcourſe with Cromwell and Ireton, fell upon the ſubject of the king's death. Cromwell ſaid, that if the king had followed his own mind, and had had truſty ſervants about him, he had fooled them all: adding, "we had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but ſomething that happened drew us off from it." The lord Broghill ſeeing they were both in a good humour, aſked them, why, if they were inclined to cloſe with him, they had not done it; Upon which Cromwell frankly told him, "The reaſon of our inclination to come to terms with him,

was, we found the Scots and preſbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to ſtrike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; wherefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reaſonable conditions. But while we were buſied with theſe thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day: what it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was ſewed up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with a ſaddle upon his head, about ten o'clock the following night, to the Blue-boar inn in Holborn, where he was to take horſe for Dover. The meſſenger knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, but ſome one in Dover did. We were then at Windſor; and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our ſpy, Ireton and I reſolved to take a truſty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did, and ſet our men at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was ſhut, but the wicket was open, and our men ſtaid to give us notice when any one came with a ſaddle upon his head. Ireton and I ſat in a box near the wicket, and called for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that diſguiſe till ten o'clock, when our centinel gave us notice that the man with a ſaddle was come: upon which we immediately roſe; and when the man was leading out his horſe ſaddled we came up to him with our ſwords drawn, and told him, we were to ſearch all who went in and out there; but as he looked like an honeſt fellow, we would only ſearch his ſaddle; which we did, and found the letter we looked for; and opening it; read the contents, in which the king acquainted the queen, that he was now courted by both the factions, the Scots preſbyterians, and the army; that which of them bid faireſt for him ſhould have him; that he thought he could cloſe ſooner with the Scots than the other. Upon which we ſpeeded to

Windſor,

Windſor, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately reſolved to ruin him."

For a concluſion, I ſhall ſet down what Dr. Wellwood in his memoirs, obſerves concerning this matter. "As every thing, ſays he, did contribute to the fall of king Charles I. ſo did every thing contribute to the riſe of Cromwell, and as there was no deſign at firſt againſt the king's life, ſo it is probable that Cromwell had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known, he was once in treaty with the king, after the army had carried his majeſty away from Holmby-houſe, to have reſtored him to the throne; which probably he would have done, if the ſecret had not been like to take vent, by the indiſcretion of ſome about the king; which puſhed Cromwell on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king."

§. 12. However it was (for theſe things muſt ſtill remain under ſome confuſion) it is certain, that a few days after the king's departure from Hampton-court, and after it was known he was in the iſle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windſor, where Cromwell and Ireton were preſent, to conſider what ſhould now be done with the king: and it was reſolved, that he ſhould be proſecuted for his life as a criminal perſon. This reſolution, however, was a great ſecret, whereof the parliament had not the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by degrees to what it never deſign'd.

It is very well known, that, after this time, Cromwell was no more a friend to the king. For when his majeſty refuſed to ſign the four famous bills, that were ſent him by the parliament, as preliminary to a treaty, there was nobody in the houſe that turned this refuſal more to his diſadvantage than Cromwell; who declared, "that the king was a man of great underſtanding; but withal ſo great a diſſembler, and ſo

falſe a man, that he was not to be truſted." And to confirm what he ſaid, he rehearſed ſeveral particulars of the king's behaviour whilſt he was in the army: concluding, "that they might trouble themſelves no farther with ſending propoſitions to the king, but enter into thoſe counſels that were neceſſary towards the ſettlement of the kingdom." Which motion being ſeconded by thoſe of his party, produced that memorable vote, "that no more addreſſes or applications ſhould be made to the king, nor any meſſage received from him, under the penalty of high-treaſon." And ſome writers go ſo far as to aſſert, that Cromwell and Ireton were ſo bold in this debate, as to threaten not only the king, but even the parliament, if they gave the army any farther grounds of jealouſy: and that Cromwell, at the end of his ſpeech, clapp'd his hand upon his ſword.

§. 13. But the ſecond civil war breaking out ſoon after, Cromwell and the army were obliged to remove from London, and the preſbyterians began again to prevail in the houſe. The vote of no addreſſes was repealed, and a perſonal treaty was reſolved on with the king. Cromwell * wrote to his friends about theſe proceedings,

* Cromwell had written to his friends, "that it would be ſuch a perpetual ignominy to the parliament, that nobody abroad or at home would ever give credit to them, if they ſhould recede from their former vote and declaration of no more addreſſes to the king; conjuring them to continue firm in that reſolution." But the parliament had made too great a ſtep to go back from what they were now upon; and ſince the firſt motion for a treaty, many abſent members reſorted to the houſe, and promoted the deſign; ſo that they were much more numerous than thoſe who laboured to obſtruct it. And ſo, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, it was declared, "That the votes of no addreſſes ſhould ſtand repealed; that the treaty ſhould be at Newport;

ings, but to no purpoſe; which made him uſe all expedition to finiſh his buſineſs in the north, that he might return to the parliament, and reſtrain the preſbyterian party. But while the treaty was on foot, the main army under Fairfax preſented their large remonſtrance * to the parliament, adviſing them to reſume the

Newport; and that his majeſty ſhould be there with the ſame freedom, as when he was at Hampton-court: that the inſtructions given to colonel Hammond, for the more ſtrict confining him, ſhould be recalled; and that all whom the king had named, ſhould have liberty to repair to him, and remain with him undiſturbed." Then they nominated five lords and ten of the houſe of commons to be their commiſſioners to treat with the king, and ordered them to haſten the treaty with all poſſible expedition: but Sir Henry Vane being one of them, us'd all his arts to delay it, as he had done before with the parliament, in hopes that Cromwell would finiſh matters in Scotland time enough to return, and uſe more effectual means to obſtruct it, than he was furniſhed with. Cromwell was very well appriz'd of theſe proceedings, which made him think, that his preſence at the parliament was ſo neceſſary to reſtrain the preſbyterians who ceaſed not to vex him at any diſtance, that he would not be prevail'd with to tarry and finiſh that only difficult work which remained, viz. the reducing Pomfret-caſtle; but leaving it to Lambert, continued his march for London. Vide life of Cromwell, in 8vo. p. 99.

* They deſired, "that the parliament would lay aſide all further proceedings in this treaty, and return to their votes of no addreſſes: that the king might come no more to government, but be brought to juſtice, as the capital cauſe of all the evils in the kingdom: that a day might be ſet for the prince and the duke of York, to appear and anſwer to ſuch things as might be laid to their charge; and if they failed herein, they might be declared

F 32039 traitors;

the affair of no addreſſes, and to fix a time for their own diſſolution, that a new repreſentative might be choſen. This put the houſe into great confuſion, eſpecially as the king, about the ſame time, was removed from colonel Hammond, and committed to colonel Ewer at Hurſt-caſtle. They voted that this action was without their conſent, and ſhould be enquired into; and ſome reſolute members moved, "that the army, which was now at Windſor, might be declared traitors, if they preſumed to march nearer London than they were at preſent; and that an impeachment of high-treaſon might be drawn up againſt the principal officers of it." Hereupon the general marched directly to London, and quartered at Whitehall, placing the other chief men in the great houſes thereabouts, in order to terrify the parliament.

But the commons, notwithſtanding this, carried it by a majority upon the queſtion, "that his majeſty's conceſſions were a ſufficient ground to proceed upon, for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom;" and appointed a committee to treat with the general. Fairfax, however, inſtead of holding a conference, ordered ſome regiments down to Weſtminſter, who ſet guards upon all the avenues to the parliament-houſe, ſeized one and forty of the members as they were entering, and denied entrance to a hundred more; whereupon the reſt of the preſbyterians declining to come, the houſe was left in poſſeſſion of about an hundred and fifty. And the night after this interruption,

traitors; that an end might be put to this parliament, and new repreſentatives of the people choſen, for the governing and preſerving the whole body of the nation: that no king might be hereafter admitted, but upon election of, and in truſt for the people, &c." In concluſion, they preſs theſe things "as good for this and other kingdoms, and hope it will not be taken ill, becauſe from an army, and ſo ſervants, when their maſters are ſervants, and truſtees for the kingdom."

interruption, Cromwell arrived in town, and the next day took his place in parliament *.

It is generally ſuppoſed that Cromwell, though abſent, influenced the late proceedings, and that it was by his advice and direction that the remonſtrance of the army was drawn up, and preſented to the houſe. 'Tis certain that both he and Ireton could manage the general, in whatever they pleaſed. However Cromwell, upon his arrival declared, that "he had not been acquainted with the deſign of purging the houſe; but that ſince it was done, he was very glad of it, and would maintain it."

§. 14. The remnant of the houſe immediately renewed their votes of non-addreſſes, and annull'd all thoſe that introduced and ſucceeded the treaty; and particularly reſolved, that the king's anſwer to their propoſitions was not ſatisfactory. Soon after which a motion was made, to proceed capitally againſt the king; when Cromwell ſtood up and declared, "that if any man moved this upon deſign he ſhould think him the greateſt traitor in the world; but ſince providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he would pray to God to bleſs their counſels, though he was not prepared to give them advice. †" I ſhall

* The army having thus purged the houſe from all they either knew or ſuſpected to be enemies to their deſigns, lieutenant-colonel Axtel came in, and preſented to the remaining members the propoſals of the army, ſetting forth, "That they had for a long while ſadly beheld, and taſted in their proceedings, the miſerable effects of counſels divided and corrupted by faction, and perſonal intereſt; and deſiring, that all faithful members would acquit themſelves by a proteſtation of their not concurring in the late proceedings, and would then ſpeedily and vigorouſly proceed to take orders for the execution of juſtice."

† On December 16th, a party of horſe was ſent over to Hurſt-caſtle, to bring the king to Windſor;

I ſhall paſs over all the affair of the king's trial, as a matter commonly known; but muſt not omit what biſhop Burnet relates, that commiſſioners were ſent from Scotland, to proteſt againſt putting the king to death. They laid indeed a great load upon the king; but by a clauſe in the covenant, to which they had ſworn, by the terms upon which Scotland had engaged in the war, and by the ſolemn declarations that they had ſo often publiſhed to the world, they were obliged, they ſaid, to be faithful in the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon. Cromwell undertook to anſwer them, by ſhewing, "that a breach of truſt in a king ought to be puniſhed more than any other crime whatever: that they had ſworn to the preſervation of the king's perſon, only in the defence of the true

who lay at Farnham on the 22d, and was delivered up at Windſor-caſtle the day following, colonel Harriſon commanded the guards about him. Soon after, the council of war was ordered, "that nothing ſhould be done upon the knee to the king; that all ceremonies of ſtate uſed to him ſhould be left off, and his attendance ſhould be with fewer perſons and at leſs charge." Next day the committee of the commons, which had been appointed to draw up a charge againſt the king, reported an ordinance "for impeaching Charles Stuart king of England of high-treaſon; and for trying him by commiſſioners to be nominated in the ſaid ordinance; which being agreed to by the commons, was, on January 2d, carried up to the lords, for their concurrence. But upon their rejecting it, the commons paſſed theſe remarkable votes. "Firſt, That the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power. Secondly, That the commons of England, being choſen by the people, are the ſupreme power of the nation. Thirdly, That whatever is enacted or declared by them, has the force of law, without the conſent of the houſe of peers." It was on theſe votes that all their ſubſequent proceedings were founded.

true religion; but that when the true religion was obſtructed by the king, their oath was no farther obligatory: that the covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment; and that thoſe to whom publick juſtice had been done, as in the matter of Montroſe, were in compariſon but ſmall offenders; they acted by commiſſion from the king, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty." Thus Cromwell had manifeſtly the better of them, upon their own principles.

Another attempt in favour of the king, was made upon the lieutenant-general by his own kinſman, colonel John Cromwell, who came to town with credential letters from the ſtates of Holland, whereto was added a blank, with ſignets both of the king and the prince, for Cromwell to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his life. The colonel uſed a great deal of freedom, and even reproached him warmly for turning the king's enemy, after having proteſted ſo much in his favour. But the general anſwered, "that it was not he, but the army, and that times were altered ſince he had engaged for the king." And at laſt when he could no longer bear his couſin's importunity, he deſired he might have till night to conſider of it, and that the colonel would wait at his inn till then. But about one in the morning, a meſſenger came, to inform the colonel that he might go to bed; for the council of officers had reſolved, that the king muſt die.

This reſolution was accordingly executed; and king Charles, as biſhop Burnet obſerves, "died greater than he had lived, ſhewing, what has often been remarked of the family of the Stuarts, that they bore misfortunes better than proſperity." He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaſtity, being an utter enemy to all debauchery. But his reign, both in peace and war, was a continual ſeries of errors; ſo that his judgment could hardly be good. He was out of mea-

ſure ſet upon following his own humour, but was unreaſonably feeble to thoſe he truſted, eſpecially the queen. His notion of regal power was carried too high, and every oppoſition to it he thought rebellion.

§ 15. Thus, ſays the anonymous author before quoted, have we got over this dark ſcene, in which our lieutenant-general is commonly ſuppoſed to be chiefly concerned. But as it is not ſtrange he ſhould, if the ſtory of the king's dealing deceitfully with him be true; ſo it may more reaſonably be concluded, that his ſon-in law Ireton, rather than he, was the perſon who chiefly influenced in theſe proceedings. I know Ireton is ſuppoſed all along to have acted by Cromwell's directions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many caſes be queſtioned. Ireton was certainly a zealous commonwealth's-man, which party was always averſe to any treaty with the king; and though he with Cromwell was in ſuch a treaty, he never really intended to cloſe with the king; but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the preſbyterian intereſt in parliament: but he ſays no ſuch thing of Cromwell, whom he ſeems all along to be angry with, for his deſign of making an agreement with the king, being himſelf utterly averſe to it, and ſuppoſing Cromwell's main end was to gratify his own ambition; which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earneſt in the treaty, and alſo have deſigned the publick good. Cromwell was certainly no commonwealth's-man, though he was forced to humour, and in many things actually to comply with the party: and as the agitators, and their offspring the levellers, who were no other than the commonwealth's-men in the army, and whom it is likely Cromwell at firſt might make uſe of to bring about ſome of his deſigns, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; ſo whatever hand Cromwell had in it, ſeems to be chiefly owing to their fury and deſperate reſolutions, which

made

made him apprehenſive of the greateſt danger, if he did not comply with their deſigns; though at the ſame time, the contradictions that appeared in the king's conduct, might the more eaſily incline him to join purpoſes with them.

In ſhort, what with the danger that threaten'd his perſon, if he had perſiſted to oppoſe the deſign of the levellers; and what with the conſideration of the king's paſt miſ-government, which had been the original cauſe of all the evils the nation had ſuffered, and the fear of the like happening for the future, if he ſhould be reſtored; he having diſcovered himſelf to be of a very inconſtant and wavering, not to ſay equivocating, temper; Cromwell was at length ſo wrought upon, as to think it neceſſary, and ſo lawful, to take off the king; in which towards the laſt he ſeemed to be pretty active, though always in ſome doubt about it. We are expreſly told, he at firſt ſhewed ſome repugnance to ſo black an undertaking, as my author calls it, and ſeemed to ſhew an abhorrence of it, and not to ſurmount it, as he ſaid himſelf, but only becauſe he ſaw that the providence of God, and the neceſſity of the times, had inſpired the army to make ſo terrible a ſacrifice; but that that ſacrifice, after all, was the only one that could ſave the ſtate and religion. And I cannot here omit what biſhop Burnet ſays of this matter: he tells us, that Ireton was the perſon that drove on the king's trial and death, and that Cromwell was all the while in ſome ſuſpenſe about it. "Ireton, ſays he, had the principles and the temper of a Caſſius in him: he ſtuck at nothing that might have turned England to a commonwealth; and he found out Cooke and Bradſhaw, two bold lawyers, as proper inſtruments for managing it." And we are informed by others, that Ireton was the perſon who wrought upon Fairfax, and managing the affair of the army's remonſtrance, and purging the parliament.

§. 16. To conclude, it is apparent in general, that the king's behaviour during the whole courſe of his troubles, was enough to deſtroy that confidence which might otherwiſe have been repoſed in him, and to alienate the hearts of thoſe who were inclined to his intereſt. Whatever conceſſions he at any time made, through the neceſſity of his affairs, upon the leaſt advantage appearing on his ſide, he was ready to revoke them all. And we find, by the letters to his queen, that were taken at the battle of Naſeby, how little regard he had for the parliament, and for the rights of the people, about which they were then contending. In one of them he declares "his intention to make peace with the Iriſh, and to have 40,000 of them over in England to proſecute the war here;" and in another he complains, "that he could not prevail with his mongrel parliament at Oxford, to vote that the houſes at Weſtminſter were not a lawful parliament." So little thanks, as * one obſerves, who was no enemy to his majeſty, had thoſe noble lords and gentlemen, for expoſing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adverſity. What then might they expect, if he ſhould prevail by conqueſt? In thoſe letters alſo, he tells the queen, "that he would not make a peace with the rebels without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper ſhe ſent him: that in the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not poſitively own the parliament; it being otherwiſe to be conſtrued, though they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out: and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, that he did not acknowledge them a parliament."

§. 17. Concerning the defeat of this treaty at Uxbridge, Dr. Wellwood gives us the following account. "Many endeavours, ſays he, were uſed from time to time, to bring matters to an accommodation by way of treaty; but ſtill ſome one unlucky accident or

* Coke.

other render'd them abortive. At the treaty of Uxbridge, though the parliament's demands were high, and the king ſhewed a more than ordinary averſion to comply with them; yet the ill poſture of the king's affairs at that time, and the fatal conſequences they feared would follow upon breaking off the treaty, obliged a great many of the king's friends, and more particularly that noble perſon the earl of Southampton, who had gone poſt from Uxbridge to Oxford for that purpoſe, to preſs the king again and again upon their knees, to yield to the neceſſity of the times; and by giving his aſſent to ſome of the moſt material propoſitions that were ſent him, to ſettle a laſting peace with his people. The king was at laſt prevailed with to follow their counſel; and the next morning was appointed for ſigning a warrant to his commiſſioners to that effect. And ſo ſure were they of a happy end of all differences, that the king at ſupper complaining his wine was not good, one told him merrily, "he hoped that his majeſty would drink better before a week was over at Guildhall with the lord-mayor." But ſo it was, that when they came early the next morning to wait upon him with the warrant that had been agreed upon over-night, they found his majeſty had changed his reſolution, and was become inflexible in theſe points.

The unhappy occaſion of this alteration has lain hitherto a ſecret in hiſtory, and might have continued ſuch ſtill, if a letter from the marquis of Montroſe in Scotland, whereof I have ſeen a copy under the duke of Richmond's hand, did not give a ſufficient light into it. To make the matter better underſtood, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of Montroſe and his actions in Scotland.

This nobleman had been at firſt very active and zealous for the liberties of his country; and was the firſt man that paſſed the River Tweed at the head of five hundred horſe, upon the Scots firſt expedition into England: but being afterwards diſ-

obliged,

obliged, or, as ſome ſay, repenting of his former error, he left that ſide, and came in to the king at the breaking out of the war between him and the parliament. When the Scots came into England the ſecond time to aſſiſt the parliament, Montroſe applied himſelf to the king for a commiſſion to levy war againſt his rebel ſubjects, as they were called, of Scotland; aſſuring his majeſty, that he was able, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, and concurrence of the reſt of the royal party, to make at leaſt a very conſiderable diverſion, if not to reduce the whole country to his majeſty's obedience. Accordingly the marquis was made governor of Scotland; where, in the ſpace of five months, with a handful of raw undiſciplined men, and thoſe not half-armed, he did over-run a great part of the country, and gain three very conſiderable battles; the laſt of which was that of Inverlochy, fought the ſecond of February 1644, according to the Engliſh, and 1645, according to the Scotch account. In this battle the Earl of Argyle was entirely defeated, and the prime of the noble family of the Campbells cut off, with inconſiderable loſs, on Montroſe's ſide; who next day diſpatched an expreſs to the king with the news of this and the two former victories: and in his letter expreſſed his "utter averſion to all treaties with his rebel parliament in England," as he calls them: tells the king, "he is heartily ſorry to hear that his majeſty had conſented to treat; and hopes it is not true: adviſes him not to enter into terms with his rebellious ſubjects, as being a thing unworthy of a king: and aſſures him that he himſelf was now ſo much maſter of Scotland, that he doubted not but to be able within a few months to march into England to his majeſty's aſſiſtance, with a brave army." And concludes with this odd expreſſion, "when I have conquered from Dan to Beerſheba, as I doubt not I ſhall very quickly, I hope I may then have leave to ſay, as David's general ſaid to his maſter, Come thou, leſt this country be called by my name."

The

This letter, writ with ſuch an air of aſſurance, and by a perſon that was thought capable to make good his promiſes, and the matter contained in it ſuiting but too well with the king's inclinations, was unluckily delivered to the king but a few hours before he was to have ſigned the warrant beforementioned; and had as ill effects as the worſt of king Charles's enemies could have wiſhed: for it darted out in a moment all the impreſſions his beſt friends had been making upon him for a conſiderable time, towards a full ſettlement with his people.

It looked, ſays my author, as if there was ſome ſecret fatality in this whole matter; for it could hardly have been imagined, that a letter writ the third of February, in the furthermoſt north corner of Britain, ſhould come ſo ſoon to Oxford, conſidering the length of the journey, the badneſs of the roads at that time of the year, eſpecially through the mountainous part of Scotland, together with the parliament's and Scotch armies and garriſons that were poſted all along the road: and yet certain it is, it came through all theſe dangers and inconveniencies in very few days: for it's indors'd upon the copy I have ſeen, that it was delivered to the king during the treaty of Uxbridge; which every body knows began the 30th of January, and ended the 22d of February. And further, it muſt have been delivered before the 19th of February, becauſe king Charles takes notice of it in a letter to the queen of that date, found among others at Naſeby; where he ſays, "though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given by Montroſe to Argyle, who upon ſurprize totally routed theſe rebels, and killed 1500 upon the place." And it's remarkable that in the ſame letter to the queen, immediately after the mentioning Montroſe's victory, the king adds, that as for truſting the rebels, either by going to London, or diſbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly: for I eſteem the intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate; and

pretend

pretend to have a little more wit (at leaſt by the ſympathy that is betwixt us) than to put myſelf into the reverence of perfidious rebels." Which words being compared with Montroſe's letter *, it will be found the one is a commentary upon the other.

Dr. Wellwood concludes with this obſervation, "that conſidering the time when this letter of Montroſe was writ, this critical minute, it was delivered, with the ſad conſequences that attended it; it makes the axiom true, That oftentimes the fate of princes and ſtates is chiefly owing to very minute and unforeſeen accidents." But may we not add from his own relation, that king Charles's fluctuating and vain temper, which eaſily received every ſtamping impreſſion, and could be truſted only in proportion to the reſtraint it was under, was what in reality ruined his cauſe, more than any fatality or accident that appeared in this affair?

* See this letter in the appendix.

## CHAP. VI.

*Cromwell's management towards the parliament, the army, and the parties he had to deal with, till he aſſumed the ſovereignty.*

§. 1. As there is nothing more eſſential in the character of a prince, or a great miniſter, than the art of governing parties, and reconciling different intereſts, ſo as to make them concur in the advancement of his own deſigns; ſo there is no art more difficult than this to attain, or that requires more extraordinary qualifications in the perſon who attempts to practiſe it. But never was there a greater maſter in this art than Cromwell; never was there a man who practiſed it ſo ſucceſsfully, with ſo little aſſiſtance,



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and ſo few advantages. His whole publick life was one continued inſtance of his addreſs and dexterity, either in circumventing and diſtreſſing others, or in evading and breaking the ſnares that were laid for himſelf.

His firſt care, from the beginning, was to ſecure himſelf a party in the houſe of commons; which he effected by his zeal for the public good, and his vigilance in proſecuting all the meaſures that were entered into by the parliament. Hence it [illegible] the earls of Eſſex and Mancheſter, tho' the former was general in chief, and the other Cromwell's ſuperior, were not able to prejudice him, after he had eſtabliſhed his reputation by the victory of Marſton-moor. When the Scotch chancellor * accuſed him of being an incendiary, and a publick

* The chancellor's ſpeech againſt him was in the following terms.

"Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can aſſure you of the great opinion, both my brethren and ſelf have of your worth and abilities; elſe we ſhould not have deſir'd this meeting with you: and ſince it is his excellency's pleaſure, that I ſhould acquaint you with the matter upon whilk your counſel is deſir'd, I ſhall obey his command, and briefly recite the buſineſs to you.

You ken vary weele, that lieutenant-general Cromwell is no friend of ours; and ſince the advance of our army into England, he has uſed all underhand and cunning means to tak off from our honour, and merit of this kingdom, an evil requital of our hazards and ſervices; but ſo it is, and we are nevertheleſs fully ſatisfy'd of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of the nation in general.

It is thought requiſite for us, and for carrying on the cauſe of the twa kingdoms, that this obſtacle or remora be removed out of the way, whom

we

lick enemy of his country, with a view to remove him out of Eſſex's way; Mr. Whitelock informed that miniſter, "that he looked upon Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and ſubtle parts, and who had a great intereſt in both houſes of parliament and that it would be needful to collect ſuch particular paſſages concerning him, as might be ſufficient to prove him an incendiary, before they could expect the parliament ſhould proceed againſt him." And though ſome gentlemen preſent, in particular Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, attempted to mention ſuch particular paſſages, and to maintain that Cromwell had not

we foreſee will be no ſmall impediment to us in the gude deſign we have undertaken.

He not only is no friend to us, and the government of our church, but he is alſo no well-willer to his excellency, whom you and we have all cauſe to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on this way, it may, I fear, endanger the whole buſineſs; therefore we are to adviſe of ſome courſe to be taken for prevention of this miſchief.

You ken vary weele the accord betwixt the twa nations, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant; and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how he is to be proceeded againſt. Now the matter is, wherein we deſire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of the word incendiary to be, and whether the lieutenant-general be not ſick an incendiary, as is meant thereby; and whilk way wud be beſt to tak to proceed againſt him, if he proved ſick an incendiary, that we may clepe his wings from ſoaring to the prejudice of our cauſe.

Now you may ken, that by our law in Scotland, we clepe him an incendiary wha kindleth coals of contention and raiſeth differences in the ſtate, to the publick damage; and he is *tanquam publicus hoſtis patriæ*. Whether your law be the ſame or not, you ken beſt, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore we deſire your judgments in theſe points.

Hugh

ſuch intereſt in the parliament as was pretended, yet the whole proceſs came to nothing, and the lieutenant-general eſcaped.

While he was thus put to it to ſecure himſelf, who would have thought that he ſhould have accuſed another, and even that very general to whom he was lieutenant? Yet this was the caſe between him and Manchester, whom he charged * with betraying the parliament, and ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of their cauſe. And though the earl recriminated, and affirmed that Cromwell had once ſaid to him, My lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at your command, that will give law to king and parliament;"

* About four months after the fight at Marſton-moor happened the ſecond battle of Newbury, where Cromwell is ſaid to have endanger'd the king's perſon, had not the earl of Cleveland, interpos'd, and bore off the purſuit. This battle was the occaſion of an irreconcilable breach between him and the earl of Manchester. Cromwell accus'd the earl of cowardly betraying the parliament, for that he might very eaſily have defeated the king's army, when he drew off his cannon, if he would have ſuffer'd him with his own brigade to have charged them in their retreat; but that the earl obſtinately oppos'd all advice and importunity, giving no other reaſon, than "That if he did overthrow the king's army, the king would always have another to keep up the war; but if his army ſhould be overthrown at that nice juncture, they ſhould be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law." This laſt expreſſion was heinouſly taken by the parliament, as if the earl believed the law was againſt them, after they had ſo often declar'd, that the law was on their ſide. The earl acknowledg'd, that he had in effect ſaid, "That they would be treated as traitors if their army was defeated," when he diſlik'd the lieutenant-general's advice in expoſing the army to an unſeaſonable hazard. Life of Cromwell, p. 17.

parliament;" yet Cromwell had viſibly the advantage in this conteſt, and ſoon after ſucceeded Manchester in his poſt, who was laid aſide by his maſters.

§. 2. It is not to be thought that a man who had raiſed himſelf in the army, could be in earneſt about laying down his commiſſion, when he appeared ſo vigorous about the ſelf-denying ordinance. But Cromwell was certain of carrying his own point in the houſe, provided he could get his ſuperiors and thoſe who were jealous of him, removed from the ſervice. He ran little riſk therefore in proffering to lay down his own commiſſion, while he moved that an ordinance might be prepared, "to make it unlawful for any member of either houſe to hold any office in the army, or any place in the ſtate." And when he hinted at the people's jealouſy, that while members of the parliament were in chief command, they found too much intereſt in continuing the war to ſuffer them to be earneſt in endeavouring to end it; he gave a thorough blow to my lord Mancheſter, whom he had before accuſed of labouring to protract the preſent confuſion *.

Cromwell

* Cromwell's ſpeech in the houſe in favour of this ordinance, was to the following purpoſe; viz. "That there were many things upon which he never reflected before; yet upon reconſideration, he could not but own that all was very true; and till there was a perfect reformation in thoſe particulars recommended to them, nothing they took in hand would proſper: That the parliament had done wiſely in the beginning of the war, to engage many of their members in the moſt dangerous parts of it, that the nation might ſee they deſign'd not to embark others in perils, whilſt themſelves ſat ſecurely out of gun-ſhot, but would march with them where the danger moſt threaten'd; and thoſe honourable perſons who had thus expoſed themſelves

Cromwell pretended indeed, when the army was now modelled upon this motion, and all the old officers removed, to go among the reſt and take his leave of Sir Thomas Fairfax the new general, who was then at Windſor: but how much ſoever he might ſeem to be ſurprized, there is no room to queſtion but he knew of the committee's recommendation of him to Sir Thomas, as the moſt proper perſon for an enterprize then projected, that of interrupting the correſpondence between the

had merited ſo much of their country, that their memories would be held in perpetual veneration: and whatever ſhould be well done after them, would be imputed to their example. But now God had ſo bleſſed their army, that there had grown up with it many excellent officers, who were fitter for much greater charges than they now enjoy'd; therefore he deſir'd them not to be terrified with an imagination, that they ſhould want able men to fill the greateſt vacancy; for beſides that it was not good to put ſo much truſt in any arm of fleſh, as to think that ſuch a cauſe as this depended upon any one man, ſo he aſſur'd them, that they had officers in their army, who were fit to be generals in any enterprize in Chriſtendom." He added, "He thought nothing ſo neceſſary as to vindicate the parliament from partiality towards their own members; proffer'd to lay down his own commiſſion in the army, and deſir'd, that an ordinance might be prepared, to make it unlawful for any member of either houſe to hold any office in the army, or any place in the ſtate;" and ſo concluded with an enlargement upon the vices and corruptions crept into the army, and freely told them, "That till the whole army were new modell'd, and brought under ſtricter diſcipline, they muſt not expect any remarkable ſucceſs in any undertaking." In concluſion, a committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance for the excluſion of all members from the fore-mention'd truſts; which took up much time, and was long debated; but in the end paſs'd, and was called the ſelf-denying ordinance.

the king and prince Rupert. This was only a prelude to what ſoon followed when his perſonal ſervice in the houſe was diſpenſed with, and his commiſſion continued from time to time, till he was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the horſe, with the ſame full powers that Mancheſter had before enjoyed.

§. 3. But when the firſt civil war was over, Cromwell had yet a more difficult part to act. Diſſentions broke out between the parliament, which was chiefly preſbyterians, and the army, which inclined to independency. Theſe differences were heightened by the citizens of London, who addreſſed the parliament againſt the independants, and complained particularly of the army, where many, they ſaid, who were neither learned or ordained, took upon them to preach and expound the ſcripture. Cromwell, for a long-time, had ſeemed to favour preſbytery; but having got many of his friends into power, and finding the army on his ſide, he now eſpouſed the independant party. Hereupon the parliament grew particularly jealous of him, and were for taking meaſures to diſmiſs him and his partizans from their military poſts. Cromwell was no leſs jealous of them, and being aware of what they deſigned, reſolved to be even with them. Accordingly he took care to whiſper ſuſpicions of the parliament, and made a ſtrong party for military power *.

There

* Ludlow tells us, that as he was walking with him one morning in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveigh'd bitterly againſt the parliament, and ſaid familiarly to him, "If thy father were alive, he would let ſome of them hear what they deſerve;" adding farther, "That it was a miſerable thing to ſerve a parliament, to whom let a man be never ſo faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongſt them riſe up and aſperſe him, he ſhall never wipe it off; whereas, when one ſerves under a general, he may do as much ſervice, and yet be free from all blame and envy."

There was actually a deſign on foot, to break ſome of the independant regiments, and ſend the others to Ireland: of which Cromwell getting timely notice, he and Ireton got it inſinuated thro' all the army, that the parliament intended to diſband them without paying their arrears, or elſe to conſume them in Ireland with ſickneſs and famine. This ſo exaſperated the ſoldiers, that when the orders came for diſbanding ſome, and tranſporting others, they refuſed to comply with them. When the parliament heard this, they were highly offended, and threatening expreſſions came from ſome of the members; which occaſioned Cromwell, then in the houſe, to whiſper Ludlow, who ſtood by, ſaying, "theſe men will never leave, till the army pull them out by the ears."

§. 4. A ſpirit of oppoſition being thus raiſed in the army, they began now profeſſedly to enter into competition with the parliament, and to claim a ſhare with them in ſettling the kingdom: and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of ſuch officers as they approv'd, which was called the general's council of officers, and was to reſemble the houſe of peers; and three or four out of each regiment, moſtly corporals or ſerjeants, were choſen by the common ſoldiers, and called agitators, who were to anſwer to the houſe of commons. Theſe two bodies met ſeparately, and examined all the acts and orders of the parliament towards ſettling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing or diſbanding the army: and after ſome conſultations, they unanimouſly declared, "that they would not be divided or diſbanded till their full arrears were paid, and till full proviſion was made for liberty of conſcience, which hitherto had been little ſecured." They added, "that as they had voluntarily taken up arms, for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part; before they laid down thoſe arms, they would ſee all thoſe ends provided for." This declaration was delivered at the bar

bar of the houſe of commons, by three or four perſons of the army's council *.

This contrivance for keeping the army together, and ſetting them up againſt the parliament, was a maſter ſtroke of Cromwell's. It not only ſaved him at preſent, but proved the foundation of all his future greatneſs. For the army continued reſolute in their deſign, and grew more haughty in their expreſſions, till the difference ſeemed almoſt irreconcilable. Fairfax the general indeed was a preſbyterian; but then Cromwell had ſo much the aſcendant over him, as well as over the army, that he was prevailed with to

* Soon after this declaration, the ſoldiers drew up a vindication of their proceedings, directing it to their general; wherein they complained of a deſign to diſband, and new-model the army; which, they ſaid, "was a plot contrived by ſome men, who had lately taſted of ſovereignty, and being rais'd above the ordinary ſphere of ſervants, would fain become maſters, and were degenerated into tyrants." For which reaſon they declared, "that they would neither be employed for the ſervice of Ireland, nor ſuffer themſelves to be diſbanded, till their deſires were obtained, and the ſubjects rights and liberties ſhould be vindicated and ſecur'd." This paper being ſign'd by many inferior officers, the parliament declar'd them enemies of the ſtate, impriſoning ſome of them who talk'd loudeſt: Whereupon they drew up another addreſs to the general, complaining, "how diſdainfully they were uſed by the parliament, for whom they had ventured their lives, and ſpilt their blood; that the privileges due to them as ſoldiers, and as ſubjects, were taken from them; and when they complained of the injuries done to them, they were abus'd, beaten, and impriſon'd."

to write a letter to back the army's petitions *. Theſe proceedings grievouſly troubled the parliament; but reſolving not to ſubmit to thoſe who lived on their pay, they declared, "that whoſoever ſhould refuſe, being commanded, to engage in the ſervice of Ireland, ſhould be diſbanded." The army, however, would not recede from their reſolutions, and falling into direct mutiny, called for the arrears that were due to them, "which they knew where, and how to levy for themſelves." Nor would they be pacified till the declaration againſt them was eraſed out of the journal-book, and a month's pay ſent to them. Nay, they ſtill gave out, "that they knew how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the parliament, and where to have their ſervice better eſteemed and requited." Which ſo ſtartled the parliament, that they ſent a committee of both houſes, to treat with a committee of officers, upon the beſt means for compoſing theſe differences. And thus the army, by a conceſſion of the parliament's, ſeemed to be put upon a level with it: which diſpoſed Fairfax to a greater concurrence with the humour of the ſoldiers, as he ſaw it ſo much complied with, and ſubmitted to.

§. 5. Cromwell hitherto thought it neceſſary to keep fair with the parliament; and, through his choice knack at diſſimulation, he would ſeem highly diſpleaſed with the inſolence of the ſoldiers, and inveighed bitterly againſt their preſumption in the houſe of commons, when any of their addreſſes were preſented. He alſo propoſed, that the general might be

* In this letter he took notice of ſeveral petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and other places, againſt the army; adding, "that it was look'd upon as ſtrange, that the officers of the army might not be permitted to petition, when ſo many petitions were received againſt them; and that he much doubted, that the army might draw to a rendezvous, and think of taking ſome other courſe for their own vindication."

ſent down to the army; who, he ſaid, would ſoon conjure down this mutinous ſpirit. Himſelf, by theſe means, was once or twice ſent, to reduce them to order; when, after ſtaying two or three days, he returned again to the parliament, with heavy complaints of the great licence that was got into the army, declaring, "that for his own part, he was rendered ſo odious to them by the artifice of his enemies, that they had deſigned to kill him, if he had not timely eſcaped out of their hands." But he was greatly ſuſpected by ſome, notwithſtanding this, of having under-hand encouraged the army's proceedings; and the moſt active officers and agitators were believed to be his own creatures, who would do nothing without his directions: ſo that it was privately reſolved by the chief members of the houſe of commons, that when he came the next day to the houſe, which he ſeldom failed to do, they would ſend him to the Tower.

This deſign could not be managed ſo ſecretly, but Cromwell got intelligence of it. The next day, when the houſe expected every minute to ſee him come in, they were informed he was met out of town by break of day, with only one ſervant, poſting away to the army. Here he ordered a rendezvous of ſome regiments of horſe, and then diſpatched a letter to the houſe of commons, to acquaint them, "that the jealouſy the troops had conceived of him was much abated, and he had therefore been invited by the officers to his own regiment, in order to reclaim them by his advice; in which view he made all poſſible haſte to the army." He alſo adviſed a general rendezvous of the troops, and that general Fairfax might be ſent down with all expedition.

§. 6. It was during this quarrel between the houſe of commons and the army, that Cromwell gave the world that ſpecimen of his deep artifice, which was related by Sir Harbottle Grimſton to biſhop Burnet. In a meeting of officers it was propoſed to purge the army better, in order to know whom they might de-

pen

pend on. Cromwell ſaid, "he was ſure of the army; but there was another body, naming the houſe of commons, that wanted more to be purged, and the army could only do that." This was reported to the houſe by Grimſton, and witneſſes atteſted it at the bar. Whereupon Cromwell, who was preſent, fell down upon his knees, and made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and great zeal for the ſervice of the houſe. This he did with great vehemence, and many tears: after which he made a long ſpeech, juſtifying himſelf, and the reſt of the officers, except a few, who ſeemed inclinable to return back to Egypt, as he phraſed it. And ſo was the houſe wrought upon by theſe means, that what the witneſſes ſaid was little believed; and Grimſton was of opinion, that had the motion been made, both he and they would have been ſent to the Tower. Cromwell however no ſooner got out of the houſe, but he reſolved not to truſt himſelf there again: ſo haſtening to the army, he in a few days brought them to town, and did in effect purge the houſe of many members, which enabled him to treat the reſt juſt as he pleaſed.

There is another ſtory of Mr. Locke's, in his memoirs of Anthony Aſhley Cooper, the firſt earl of Shaftſbury, which deſerves to be here inſerted. He tells us, that Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper (for he was not a lord till after the reſtoration) calling upon Mr. Holles, in his way to the houſe, found him in a great heat againſt Cromwell, ſaying, he was reſolved to bring him to puniſhment. Cooper ſhewed him how dangerous ſuch an attempt might be, earneſtly diſſuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to ſend him with a command into Ireland; which, as things ſtood, he would be glad to accept. But this would not ſatisfy Holles, who, when he came to the houſe, brought the matter to a debate, wherein it was moved that Cromwell, and thoſe guilty with him, ſhould be puniſhed. Cromwell being then in the houſe, immediately ſtole out, took horſe, and haſtened away to the army, which was at Triploe-heath, where he

informed them of what was now doing in the houſe by the preſbyterian party, and made ſuch uſe of it, that the army united under him, who forthwith led them to London, giving out ſuch menaces againſt Holles and his party, that they were fain to abſent themſelves, whereby the independant party became the ſtrongeſt. Soon after meeting Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Cromwell ſaid unto him, "I am beholden to you for your kindneſs to me; for you, hear, were for letting me go without puniſhment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not wi[illegible] enough to take your advice."

§. 7. The ſeizing of the king at Holmby through Cromwell's inſtigation, and the uſe that was made of him by the army againſt the parliament, are particulars that have been elſewhere mentioned. There is no queſtion but Cromwell had herein a view to his own intereſt, and to the keeping the parliament under; though I have made it very manifeſt, that his good intentions towards the king were real, provided he could have ſecured himſelf and the liberties of the people by a reſtoration, and had not his majeſty dealt unfairly with him. I ſhall not repeat any of the intrigues on that ſcore; but muſt not omit an action of Cromwell, while they were on foot, that ſhews more preſence of mind and perſonal courage, as well as deep penetration, than almoſt any other paſſage that is to be met with in hiſtory.

It was the deſign of the levellers, who were now a great part of the army, not only to aboliſh monarchy, but alſo the houſe of peers, and to eſtabliſh a pure democracy *. This was what colonel Rainſborough, one

* They preſented a writing to the general, and afterwards to the parliament, declaring;

1. "That the people being unequally diſtributed by counties, cities and boroughs, for election of their deputies in parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned according to the number of inhabitants.

2 That

one of their leaders, aſſiſted by others, went about ſoliciting from one regiment to another; ſtirring up the ſoldiers againſt Fairfax, Cromwell, and the other general officers, who were ſuſpected of being for an accommodation. But Cromwell was reſolved to endeavour the ſuppreſſion of this licence, which he thought could be effected only by ſome extraordinary act of authority. Being accompanied therefore with divers officers, he with a wonderful briſkneſs

2. That the preſent parliament be diſſolved by the 1ſt day of September next.

3. That the people do of courſe chuſe themſelves a parliament once in every two years.

4. That the power of this, and all other future repreſentatives, is inferior only to theirs who chuſe them, and extends, without the conſent of any other perſon, to the enacting, altering, and repealing of laws; to the erecting and aboliſhing of offices and courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account, magiſtrates and officers of all degrees; to the making war and peace; to the treating with foreign ſtates; and generally to whatſoever is not reſerved by thoſe repreſented to themſelves." And here they declare, "That impreſſing or conſtraining any to ſerve in the war, is againſt freedom, and not allowed to the repreſentatives.

5. That in all laws every perſon be bound alike; and that tenure, eſtates, charter, degree, birth or place, do not confer any exception from the ordinary courſe of legal proceedings whereunto others are ſubjected. And,

6. That the laws muſt be equal and good, and not deſtructive to the ſafety and well being of the people."

Theſe they declared to be their native rights, which they were reſolved to maintain, and not to depend, for the ſettlement of their peace and freedom, upon him that intended their bondage [meaning the king] and brought a cruel war upon them.

briſkeneſs rode up to one of the regiments, which wore the diſtinguiſhing marks *, and commanded them to take them out of their hats; which they refuſing to do, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized, and knocked down two or three with his own hand; and the others hearts failing, they ſubmitted to him. He ordered one of thoſe whom he had ſeized to be ſhot dead on the place, and delivered the reſt into the hands of the marſhal: then writing up an account of what he had done to the parliament, they returned him the thanks of the houſe.

He ſuppreſſed them in like manner ſome time after, when upon aboliſhing the council of agitators, they were once more exaſperated. There being a rendezvous at Ware, ſeveral regiments, among whom was Cromwell's own, in purſuance of a petition they had preſented Fairfax, and in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves, wore white in their hats, as they had done before. Cromwell having notice of the deſign, ordered two regiments of horſe from diſtant quarters, who knew nothing of this combination, to appear there likewiſe. Being all drawn up, Cromwell with an angry and down look walks round, and on a ſudden commands one of thoſe two regiments to encompaſs a regiment of foot. This being done accordingly, he called four men by their names out of the body, and with his own hands committed them to the marſhal; and immediately calling a council of war, (whilſt the reſt of the confederates ſlunk their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at the boldneſs of Cromwell) tried and condemned them. But they had the favour of caſting lots for their lives; and the two whoſe lot it was to die, were preſently ſhot to death by the other two, in ſight of the army.

* At the general rendezvous, they who were of this party, to diſtinguiſh themſelves, appear'd every one with a paper in his hat, with theſe words written upon it, "The rights of England, and the conſent of the people."

§. 8. The

§. 8. The parliament and army being united * againſt the king, upon his majeſty's refuſing to ſign the

* The commiſſioners of the parliament being come back from the iſle of Wight with the king's anſwer, which imported, "That he had refuſed to paſs the four bills, 1. For veſting the militia in the two houſes. 2. For revoking all declarations againſt the parliament. 3. For vacating all titles of honour conferred ſince his leaving the parliament. 4. That the houſes ſhould adjourn themſelves as they thought fit; or to make a compoſure in that way; but had barely made a perſonal treaty;" there followed a long debate in the houſe, and many ſevere and bitter ſpeeches were made againſt the king. Ireton, according to ſome, was the firſt that ſpoke with warmth, and Cromwell ſeconded him; and from the king's refuſing to ſign the four acts, they inferr'd, "That he had ſufficiently declared himſelf for arbitrary government:" and alledging, "That he was no longer the protector, but the tyrant of his people; and conſequently, that they were no longer his ſubjects; and that they ought to govern without him; that their long patience had availed nothing; and that it was expected, from their zeal to their country, that they ſhould take ſuch reſolutions, as were worthy of an aſſembly with whom the nation had intruſted their ſafety." And as thoſe two perſons were not only members of the houſe, but alſo chiefs in the army; after they had firſt ſpoken under the former character, they ſpake again in the other, to this effect: "That they were well perſuaded of the parliament's good intentions, and were aſſured, that without ſuffering themſelves to be amuſed any longer, they would defend the nation by their own proper authority, and by the courage of thoſe valiant men, that were enroll'd under their banners, who by their mouths gave them aſſurances of their fidelity, which nothing could ſhake. But have a care, ſaid they, that you do not give the

the four preliminary bills, and colonel Rainſborough appointed admiral of the fleet, tumults and diſcontents began to renew among the people. In the mean time Cromwell appointed a meeting of ſeveral leading men of the preſbyterian and independant parties, both members of parliament and miniſters, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two intereſts. He could not indeed effect it, on account of theſe inveterate animoſities; but the attempt ſhewed how indefatigable he always was, and how fruitful in ſchemes for the ſervice of the cauſe.

A like conference was held by his contrivance, between the grandees of the houſe and army, of whom himſelf was one, and the commonwealth's-men. The grandees here delivered themſelves with ſome uncertainty, as to the form of government they ſhould prefer; but the commonwealth's-men declared abſolutely againſt monarchy, and recommended the eſtabliſhment of an equal commonwealth. Cromwell, very artfully, ſeemed unreſolved at preſent; but informed Ludlow afterwards, that he was inclined to be of his opinion, as to the expediency of a popular government, and from that time ſeemed to cloſe with the republicans. But this was artifice only, in order to ſecure himſelf, in theſe times of danger, under the ſhelter of that powerful party: which Ludlow ſuſpecting, he freely told him, "You know how to cajole and give us good words, when you have occaſion to make uſe of us." Cromwell, however, tho' always ſuſpected by one ſide or the other, and ſometimes

army, who ſacrifice themſelves for the liberty of the nation, any grounds to ſuſpect your of betraying them; and do not oblige them to look for their own ſafety, and that of the nation, in their own ſtrength, which they deſire to owe to nothing, but the ſteadineſs and vigour of your reſolutions." This was that famous debate before-mentioned, in which Cromwell is ſaid to have put his hand to his ſword. Vide chap. 5. §. 12.

ſes by all parties together, yet ſtill preſerved his ting, either by making himſelf neceſſary to the publick in general, or by falling in with the reigning faction, or by ſetting up another faction that might over-balance the former.

One of his moſt effectual engines in theſe enthuſiaſtical times, was his continual protenſions of humility and devotion, aſcribing the glory of all his actions to the providence of God, ſmiling on the juſtice of the parliament's cauſe. And how little ſoever ſuch a behaviour would take at preſent, it was then the only way of becoming popular; as popularity, eſpecially in the army, was the only infallible way to power; ſo that though hypocriſy, in matters of religion, is undoubtedly very odious, yet as much may be here ſaid to extenuate the crime of it, as in any other inſtance I know. One may even venture to ſay, that if Cromwell's diſſimulation be any diſadvantage to his character, we may from the ſame principle condemn moſt of the great men in all ages, who have conformed with popular prejudices to ſerve the ends of ambition: for whether the point be religion or policy (if indeed there be any difference between theſe two among the great and mighty ones of the earth) the deception is juſt the ſame, and the laws of truth are equally infringed.

§. 9. Soon after the death of the king, the commons voted the houſe of peers to be uſeleſs and dangerous; and an act was accordingly paſs'd for aboliſhing it, though Cromwell is ſaid to have appeared in their behalf. And to remove all that ſtood in the way of their intended commonwealth, they reſolved and declared, "That it had been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation, was unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and publick intereſt of the nation; and therefore it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed." Then the form of government was declared to be a commonwealth; and a council of ſtate was appointed, conſiſting

ſiſting of forty perſons *; whereof Cromwell was one, to whom power was given, to command and ſet the militia of England and Ireland, to order the fleet, and ſet forth ſuch a naval power, as they ſhould think fit; to appoint magazines and ſtores for England and Ireland, and to diſpoſe of them for the ſervice of both nations, as they thought proper. And they were to ſit and execute theſe powers for the ſpace of one whole year. From this time all writs, formerly running in the king's name, were to be iſſued out in the names of the keepers of the liberty of England. And a new oath, or engagement was prepared, "to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed without king or houſe of peers: all who refuſed to take it, uncapable of holding any place or office in church or ſtate. It was during the exiſtence of this commonwealth, in which Cromwell had the chief ſway, that the lord Capels petition, which his lady delivered, was read in the houſe. That nobleman was condemned for high-treaſon, together with

* If the reader is curious of knowing what perſons compoſed the council of ſtate for this firſt year, they were as follows: John Bradſhaw, Eſq; preſident, earl of Denbigh, earl of Mulgrave, earl of Pembroke, earl of Saliſbury, lord Grey, lord Grey of Groby, lord Fairfax, John Liſle, Eſq;——Rolles, Eſq; Oliver St. John, Eſq; John Wild, Eſq; Bulſtrode Whitelock, Eſq; lieutenant-general Cromwell, major-general Skippon, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir William Maſſum, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Sir James Harrington, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Sir John Danvers, Sir William Armine, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sir William Conſtable, Alexander Popham, William Purefoy, Iſaac Pennington, Rowland Wilſon, Edmund Ludlow, William Heveningham, Robert Wallop, Henry Marten, Anthony Stapely, John Hutchinſon, Valentine Walton, Thomas Scot, Dennis Bond, Luke Robinſon, John Jones, Cornelius Holland, Eſquires.

with duke Hamilton, the earls of Holland and Norwich, and Sir John Owen. Many ſpoke in his favour, and ſaid, that he had never deceived or betrayed them, but had always freely and reſolutely declared for the king: and Cromwell, who knew him very well, ſpoke ſo many things to his honour, and profeſſed ſo much reſpect for him, that all believed he was ſafe, till he concluded, "That his affection for the publick ſo out-weighed his private friendſhip, that he could not but tell them, that the queſtion was now, Whether they would preſerve the moſt bitter and moſt implacable enemy they had? That he knew well, that the lord Capel would be the laſt man in England, that would abandon the royal intereſt; that he had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him, and that as long as he liv'd, what condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in their ſides: and therefore for the good of the commonwealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt the petition." By this ſpeech he prevented the lenity of the houſe, which every one thought would have taken place.

About this time ſeveral things were declared by the parliament to be high-treaſon, and among the reſt, "for any ſoldier of the army to contrive the death of their general, or lieutenant-general; or endeavour to raiſe mutinies in the army." The extending of this to the lieutenant-general by name, plainly ſhews what power Cromwell had acquired under that title; and there is good reaſon to think, that this act was made purely for the ſecurity of his perſon.

§. 10. The wars being all over, as well in Scotland, Ireland, and the reſt of the Britiſh Iſles, as in England itſelf, Cromwell, who with the title of lord-general was now poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, deſired a meeting with ſeveral members of parliament, and ſome of the principal officers of the army, at the ſpeaker's houſe. This was very ſoon after the

battle of Worceſter. Whitelock, who was one of the number, gives a remarkable account of the conference here held. Cromwell propoſed, that ſome method might be fixed on for ſettling the liberties of the nation, both civil and ſpiritual: and upon Whitelock's offering in the firſt place, to conſider whether an abſolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy, were to be preferred; Cromwell added, that Whitelock had hit upon the right point. "It is my meaning, ſays he, that we ſhould conſider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monarchical government, will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power ſhall be placed." Sir Thomas Widdringhton, lord chief juſtice St. John, Henthall the ſpeaker, and Whitelock, were all of them for monarchy; becauſe any other form of government, they ſaid, would make too great an alteration in the proceedings of our law. Fleetwood was in doubt which to prefer: Deſborough and Whalley, both noted republicans, were not for having any mixture of monarchical power. But as to a proper perſon, in caſe ſuch a power were admitted, no body was nominated but one of the late king's ſons. Whereupon Cromwell told them, "that this would be a matter of more then ordinary difficulty; but he really thought, if it might be done with ſafety, and preſervation of our rights, that a ſettlement with ſomething of mornarchical power in it would be very effectual." *

It appeared in general, from the diſcourſe that paſſed, that the ſoldiers were for a pure republick, the lawyers for a mix'd monarchy, and many for the duke of Glouceſter to be made king: but Cromwell ſtill put off that debate to ſome other point. Hence it ſeems evident, that having now entertain'd thoughts of ſetting up for himſelf, his only deſign in this conference, was to diſcover the inclinations of the perſons preſent, that he might make a proper uſe thereof.

* See the appendix, No. II.

of in profecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was much heightened by the finiſhing ſtroke that was given to his ſucceſſes, in the late glorious victory at Worceſter.

He had already, indeed, a power little leſs than ſovereign. His commiſſion for Ireland expiring, though the parliament did not renew it in the ſame form, yet they made him general and commander in chief of all the forces in that kingdom, by virtue of which commiſſion he appointed Fleetwood his deputy: in ſhort, the whole military power was in his hands, and the civil adminiſtration almoſt entirely under his influence; but his ambition aſcended yet higher, and the confuſed ſtate of the legiſlature, while it appeared like a body without a head, gave him at leaſt a plauſible excuſe for puſhing on, and aſſuming that authority to himſelf, which was viſibly wanting.

§. 11. In a converſation with Whitelock alone, ſoon after the conference above-mentioned, he opened himſelf more fully than he had hitherto done *. He complained that the officers of the army were inclined to factions and murmurings, and ſpread the ſame ſpirit among the private ſoldiers: that the members of the parliament were proud, ambitious, partial, covetous, and many of them ſcandalous in their lives: that it would be impoſſible to prevent the ruin of the nation, unleſs ſome authority were ſet up that might reſtrain and keep things in better order. Whitelock confeſſed the danger they were in from ſuch extravagancies as theſe; but ſaid, his excellency had power to reſtrain the ſoldiers, which as he had hitherto done, ſo he might do it ſtill: and as to the members of parliament, though ſome of them were to blame, yet better things might be hoped for the reſt. And upon Cromwell's intimating that he could not hope for much good from them, Whitelock inſiſted, that as they

* See this conference alſo at large in the appendix, No. III. as extracted from Whitelock's own account, in his memoirs.

they had been acknowledged the ſupreme power, and all commiſſions taken out in their name, it would now be very difficult for thoſe who acted under them to curb their authority.

The general finding he did not come to the point, put this ſhort queſtion, "What if a man ſhould take upon him to be king?" Whitelock ſaid, "He thought that the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe;" and gave this reaſon as to Cromwell in particular, that as he had already the full kingly power, the title would only bring with it envy and danger equal to the pomp. Cromwell then argued on the * legality of a king by election, and urged the ſtatute of king Henry VII. which makes it ſafer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power. The legality Whitelock owned, but much doubted the expediency of it: and being aſked, "What danger he apprehended in taking this title?" he anſwered, "That it would entirely alter the ſtate of the controverſy between them and their adverſaries: for as the diſpute had hitherto been, whether the government ſhould be in a monarchy, or in a free commonwealth; the only queſtion then would be, whether Cromwell or Stuart ſhould be monarch; and thus all who were for a commonwealth, being a very conſiderable party, finding

* We find Whitelock, and the other members of the committee, in the conference ſome years after, when the parliament requeſted Cromwell to aſſume the title of king, making uſe of the very ſame arguments that Cromwell himſelf here uſes, and the general giving much the ſame anſwers againſt himſelf as Whitelock here gives againſt him. But Whitelock and the reſt had then learned what was the real aim of this aſpiring commander, and ſo gave him an opportunity to ſave appearances, by refuſing that crown when offered him, which he had before ſo openly confeſſed himſelf deſirous of wearing. See that conference in the appendix.

finding their hopes fruſtrated, would be intirely againſt the eſtabliſhment.

Cromwell acknowledged the reaſon of what the commiſſioner had ſaid, and demanded, "what other expedient he could propound, that might obviate the preſent dangers and difficulties." But the other wav'd giving an anſwer, until Cromwell had aſſured him that no harm ſhould come of it: then he ſet forth the hazard the general would run from his ſecret enemies, and even from the officers of the army, who would be ſpirited up by many members of parliament and others: and upon the general thanking him for his care, and encouraging him to proceed, he propoſed the bringing in of the king of Scots, meaning Charles the Second, under ſuch reſtrictions as might ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, and with ample proviſions for Cromwell himſelf, and all his friends. Which advice ſeemed not very agreeable; for though Cromwell owned the reaſon of it, he put off the farther conſideration of the affair, and went away with ſome diſpleaſure in his countenance. After this, his carriage towards Whitelock was more cold than formerly, and he ſoon found out an occaſion, by an honourable employment *, to ſend him out of the nation. This behaviour, as well as another converſation he had with the † city divines; plainly

* An embaſſy to Sweden.

† Harry Nevill, who was then one of the council of ſtate, us'd to tell it as a ſtory of his own knowledge, "that Cromwell upon this great occaſion ſent for ſome of the chief city divines, as if he had made it a matter of conſcience to be determined by their advice. Among theſe was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly oppos'd the project of Cromwell's ſingle government, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell anſwered readily upon the firſt head of unlawful, and appeal'd to the ſafety of the nation being the ſupreme law: But, ſays he, Mr. Calamy, why impracticable? Calamy reply'd,

plainly indicated that the general's intentions, at this time, were no leſs than to bring the crown upon his own head.

§. 12. The concurrence of leading men not being to be procured, a cry was immediately promoted in the army againſt the long parliament, accompanied with warm declarations for right and juſtice, and publick liberty, which was ſaid to be now wanting, while the members were all kings, and ordered things as they pleaſed. If the parliament would not diſſolve themſelves, it was ſaid, and ſuffer a new repreſentative to be choſen, the army and people muſt do it for them. And that no obſtacle might be in the way of the intended government, means were found to ſet the young duke of Glouceſter at liberty, who had been confined here ever ſince the king's death, and ſend him out of the kingdom.

While this clamour was kept up in the army, and backed every day with petitions, addreſſes, and remonſtrances, demanding the payment of their arrears, and the diſſolution of the parliament. Some of the officers profeſſed againſt them, and one major Streater was ſo bold as to declare, "that the general deſigned to ſet up for himſelf:" upon which Harriſon, a fifth monarchy man, ſaying he believed the contrary, and that the general's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jeſus; the major replied, "Unleſs Jeſus comes very ſuddenly, he will come too late *."

During

ply'd, Oh, 'tis againſt the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten againſt you. Very well, ſays Cromwell; but what if I ſhould diſarm the nine, and put the ſword in the tenth man's hand, would not that do the buſineſs?"

* About this time Cromwell ſent a letter to the cardinal de Retz in France; which the ſaid cardinal thus relates in his memoirs: "'Tis remarkable the ſame night, as I was going home, (viz. aft

During theſe tranſactions abroad, a diſſolution was moved for in the houſe itſelf, by ſome of Cromwell's friends: but the only effect it had, was to procure a vote for filling up the houſe, and to declare it high-treaſon for any one to propoſe a change in the preſent government. Hereupon Cromwell held a conſultation with ſome officers and members whom he knew to be in his intereſt, to conſider of ſome expedient for carrying on the government, and putting an end to the parliament. But at their ſecond meeting, news being brought that the parliament were then ſitting, and it was hoped would diſſolve themſelves, the conference was broke off, and the members preſent left Cromwell, to go and ſtrengthen his intereſt in the houſe: when, contrary to their expectation, they found a motion under debate, for continuing the preſent parliament above a year and a half longer. The news of this was carried to Cromwell, who went directly to Weſtminſter.

Having brought with him a party of ſoldiers, to the number of three hundred, he placed ſome of them at the doors, ſome in the lobby, and others on the ſtairs. Then entering the houſe, he told his friend St. John, "that he came to do that which griev'd

had been to carry ſome money he had borrowed for king Charles, who was now at Paris) I met one Tilney, an Engliſhman, whom I had formerly known at Rome, who told me that Vere, a great parliamentarian, and a favourite of Cromwell, was arriv'd at Paris, and had orders to ſee me. I was a little perplex'd: however, I thought it would be improper to refuſe him an interview. He gave me a letter from Cromwell in the nature of credentials, importing, that the ſentiments I had diſcover'd in the defence of publick liberty, added to my reputation, had induced him to enter into the ſtricteſt friendſhip with me. It was a moſt civil complaiſant letter, and I anſwer'd it with a great deal of reſpect; but in ſuch a manner as became a true catholick and an honeſt Frenchman."

griev'd him to the ſoul; but there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation." He then ſat down for ſome time, and heard the debates on the forementioned act; making an offer to put his deſign in execution, but was diſſuaded from it by Harriſon. At laſt, when the queſtion for paſſing the act was put, he ſaid to Harriſon, "This is the time, I muſt do it." And ſo ſtanding up on a ſudden, he bade the ſpeaker leave the chair, and told the houſe, "they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good." Then charging ſeveral particulars with their private vices, he told them in general, that they had not a heart to do any thing for the publick good, but only an intention to perpetuate themſelves in power." And when ſome of them began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the houſe, and ſaid, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating. Then, walking up and down the houſe, he cried out, "You are no parliament, I ſay you are no parliament;" and ſtamping with his feet, he bade them "be gone and give place to honeſter men." Upon this ſignal, the ſoldiers entered, and he ſaid to one of them, "take away that fool's bauble," meaning the mace; and Harriſon taking the ſpeaker by the arm, he came down from the chair. After this addreſſing himſelf to the members, the general told him, "they had forced him to do this:" So ſeizing on all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to clear the houſe of the members; and having cauſed the doors to be locked up, he returned to Whitehall *. In the afternoon he did the

* Whitelock has the following remark on this tranſaction. "Thus it pleaſed God, that this aſſembly, famous throughout the world for its undertakings, actions, and ſucceſſes, having ſubdued all their enemies, were themſelves overthrown and ſubdued by their ſervants; and thoſe whom they had raiſed, now pulled down their maſters. An example never

the ſame thing by the council of ſtate, where he was boldly oppoſed by ſerjeant Bradſhaw *. But nothing could ſtop him in the execution of his deſign.

to be forgotten, and ſcarce to be parallel'd in any ſtory! By which all perſons may be inſtructed, how uncertain and ſubject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them higheſt."

* As he enter'd the council, he ſpoke thus to them: "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private perſons, you ſhall not be diſturbed; but if as a council of ſtate, this is no place for you: and ſince you cannot but know what was done at the houſe in the morning, ſo take notice that the parliament is diſſolv'd." Serjeant Bradſhaw boldly anſwered; "Sir, we have heard what you did at the houſe in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: but, Sir, you are miſtaken, to think that the parliament is diſſolv'd; for no power under heaven can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take you notice of that." Some others alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe: but the council finding themſelves to be under the ſame force, they all quietly departed.

## CHAP. VII.

*A view of* CROMWELL's *civil government, from his diſſolving the long parliament till his death.*

§. 1. WE are to conſider the government of England, under the remnant of the long parliament, as a kind of anarchy. Many of the ableſt members, either through compulſion or of choice, had no longer ſeats in the houſe of commons: and thoſe who remained, at leaſt the majority of them, if we may judge of what would be by what was, were degenerating

degenerating apace from thoſe noble principles that had at firſt diſtinguiſhed them; and having taſted the ſweets of power, were endeavouring to eſtabliſh themſelves in the full and laſting poſſeſſion of it, to the utter excluſion of their fellow-ſubjects, who upon the principles now avow'd, had an equal right to it with themſelves. What would this have been, but the erecting of a tyranny worſe than that they complained of, the tyranny of the many inſtead of an arbitrary monarchy?

While affairs were thus running on, if there was any member of the commonwealth who had ſufficient power to ſtop the courſe of them, and turn the conſtitution, which had been thus diverted, into its old and natural channel, that of monarchy, was it not his duty, was it not for the general good of the nation that he ſhould do this; Oliver Cromwell had ſuch a power; he ſaw the neceſſity of exerting it, and, by an act of heroiſm that is hardly to be parallel'd, he undertook and went through with the work in his own perſon; while his timorous friends diſſuaded him from the attempt, and looked on trembling for the event. It ended ſucceſsfully both to himſelf and his friends, as well as to the nation in general, whoſe laws he maintained, whoſe honour he aſſerted, whoſe reputation he raiſed, more than any ſovereign had done for a long time before *.

It

* Cromwell's panegyriſt addreſſes him thus on the diſſolution of the parliament. "That which you acted unfriendly againſt the enemy, you have acted friendly towards your friends. Not that they yet attempted any thing againſt their country, but leſt they ſhould go back from the government appointed with their country. They ſtudied the affair of an ariſtocracy, you of a democracy: they to act the nobles, you to elect the ſenators: they to contract the commonwealth to themſelves, you to extend it to the people: they to rule the publick after their own will,

It is manifeſt from many inſtances, that there are ſuch criſes in governments, as well as in arts and ſciences, when

you to direct every thing by the common aſſent. Not that they had already offended, but leaſt they ſhould create a ſuſpicion of offence. You have conſulted for their credit, you have preſerved their honour; nor have you done them any injury, but only taken away the matter of envy. You have not ſo much reproached their counſels, as you have been ready to fetch them back to better. You truly underſtand the free nature of the Engliſh nation, which will not bear even the ſhadow of ſervitude; like that of the Romans, which even in their deliverer, would not endure the empty ſound of a name favouring of tyranny. The Engliſh ſenate ſuffer on this ſide the hurt, what Collatinus did beyond the injury. Let this then be granted to liberty, that, in defending herſelf, ſhe may exceed the mean. There is nothing over-much faulty in the defence of liberty. Cromwell is no more to be blamed for taking away the ſenate, than Brutus for baniſhing his friend and companion Collatinus the conſul. You, Cromwell, who had ſtood up an advocate for liberty, had before conſtituted a commonwealth: it was your duty then to ſupport what you had conſtituted. The commonwealth deſired to have you for her faithful and ready guardian: for that truly ſhe had given you arms. You therefore, thus ſet in a watch-tower, had bound yourſelf to be vigilant. You perceived the people to be moved; to require the faith plighted to them; to wiſh that nothing might be done ſave what was agreeable to the conſtitution. You ſaw the army, who had made themſelves, after a certain manner, the ſecurity and pledges of the publick faith, to be out of patience. You flew; you made yourſelf wings of your weapons, that you might comply with the deſires of the people. You neither appeared at your own fancy; nor acted by your own judgment; nor changed any thing thro' your

when a maſter-genius may exert itſelf, and by deviating from the common rules, effect that in a few bold and licentious ſtrokes, which a regular proceſs could never reach! I may venture to add, that ſuch a genius as this is ſometimes neceſſary, and what alone can reſtore the ruins of a decayed conſtitution, and repair the devaſtations of the unſkilful many. The dictatorſhip of Cæſar, however obtained, was better for Rome than the times that preceded it, when the emulation

your own ſenſe. You undertook, you [illegible] things at the deſire of the people, who are the fountain and origin of empire. Nor have you been ſo much obedient to them, as to that reaſon and faith which governs in them. You have ſtood forth a defender of the common right; nor, ſave only to defend it, would you have ever taken up thoſe innoxious quiet arms, the pure pledges of your faith, devoted to the commonwealth, engaged to your country.

But if you have diſſolved the ſenate, you have employed the office of a cenſor: you have brought in the Roman magiſtrate to London. The cenſor removed the ſenators from their places at Rome; you, cenſor like, have ejected the ſenators out of their ſeats at London. Yet you have retained the ſenate, you have preſerved the common dignity, and not hurt the majeſty of the office or degree in the perſons. That private authority, which was ready to fall, hath been taken away: that common authority, which ſhould laſt a year only, hath been removed. Increaſe, O Cromwell, in judgment; increaſe in prudence: increaſe in faithfulneſs; increaſe in integrity! Brave before the commonwealth was freed; renowned before it was conſtituted; but glorious now it is changed." Vide the ſecond panegyric, affirmed to be written by a certain Jeſuit, the Portugueſe ambaſſador's chaplain, but compoſed as the editor (Mr. Peck) thinks, by Milton. I ſhall give a new tranſlation of the greateſt part of this piece in the appendix, having here tranſcribed from that of the editor.

emulation of her great men were a continual ſource of contention: and the protectorſhip of Cromwell, tho' not conferr'd in the moſt legal manner, was more glorious to England, than the reigns of her two preceding monarchs, or any the confuſed uſurpation of her new-fangled commonwealth. If either the Roman or the Briton had played the tyrant, it had been but as one in the room of many: but hiſtory has freed Cæſar from all imputations of this kind, except in ſuch caſes where his own ſecurity, and the temper of the times, obliged him to it: and that Cromwell's ſeverity never went farther than this, is what even his enemies, amidſt their invectives, are obliged to allow.

§. 2. Cromwell had three aſſemblies during his whole adminiſtration, that met under the name of parliaments. Conſidering all circumſtances, it could hardly be expected, that the firſt of theſe, before he knew the temper of the nation, ſhould be left to the choice of thoſe very electors, whoſe repreſentatives he had forcibly diſſolved. But it was ſoon manifeſt, that this diſſolution was very grateful and acceptable to the majority of the people: for when he and his council of officers publiſhed a declaration *, ſetting forth

* This declaration was to the following effect: "That after God was pleaſed marvelouſly to appear for his people, in reducing Ireland and Scotland to ſo great a degree of peace, and England to perfect quiet; whereby the parliament had opportunity to give the people the harveſt of all their labour, blood and treaſure, and to ſettle a due liberty in reference to civil and ſpiritual things; whereunto they were obliged by their duty, engagements, and thoſe great and wonderful things God had wrought for them: they notwithſtanding made ſo little progreſs therein, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land; who thereupon applied themſelves to the army, expecting redreſs by their means; who (tho' unwilling

forth the reaſons of this arbitrary proceeding, it was anſwered by addreſſes and congratulations from the fleet,

unwilling to meddle with the civil authority) agreed that ſuch officers, as were members of parliament, ſhould move them to proceed vigorouſly in reforming what was amiſs in the commonwealth, and in ſettling it upon a foundation of juſtice and righteouſneſs; which being done, it was hoped the parliament would have anſwered their expectations. But finding the contrary, they renewed their deſires by an humble petition in Aug. 1652. Which produced no conſiderable effect, nor was any ſuch progreſs made therein, as might imply their real intentions to accompliſh what was petitioned for, but rather an averſeneſs to the things themſelves, with much bitterneſs and oppoſition to the people of God, and his ſpirit acting in them; inſomuch that the godly party in parliament were rendered of no farther uſe than to countenance the end of a corrupt party, for effecting their deſigns of perpetuating themſelves in the ſupreme government. For obviating theſe evils, the officers of the army obtained ſeveral meetings with ſome of the parliament, to conſider what remedy might be applied to prevent the ſame: but ſuch endeavours proving ineffectual, it became evident, that this parliament, through the corruption of ſome, the jealouſy of others, and the non-attendance of many, would never anſwer thoſe ends, which God, his people, and the whole nation expected from them; but that this cauſe, which God had ſo greatly bleſs'd, muſt needs languiſh under their hand, and by degrees be loſt; and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people be deliver'd into their enemies hands. All which being ſadly and ſeriouſly conſidered by the honeſt people of the nation, as well as by the army, it ſeemed a duty incumbent upon us, who had ſeen ſo much of the power and preſence of God, to conſider of ſome effectual means, whereby to eſtabliſh righteouſneſs and peace in theſe nations.

And

fleet, the army, and the corporations, who acknowledged the Juſtice of the action, and promiſed to ſtand by

And after much debate, it was judged neceſſary, that the ſupreme government ſhould be by the parliament devolv'd upon known perſons fearing God, and of approv'd integrity, for a time, as the moſt hopeful way to countenance all God's people, reform the law, and adminiſter juſtice impartially; hoping thereby the people might forget monarchy, and underſtand their true intereſt in the election of ſucceſſive parliaments; that ſo the government might be ſettled upon a right baſis, without hazard to this glorious cauſe, or neceſſitating to keep up armies for the defence of the ſame. And being ſtill reſolved to uſe all means poſſible to avoid extraordinary courſes, we prevailed with about twenty members of parliament to give us a conference; with whom we plainly debated the neceſſity and juſtice of our propoſals; the which found no acceptance, but inſtead thereof it was offered, That the way was to continue ſtill this parliament, as being that from which we might probably expect all good things. This being vehemently inſiſted on, did much confirm us in our apprehenſions, that not any love to a repreſentative, but the making uſe thereof to recruit, and ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their aim in the act they had then under conſideration. For preventing the conſummating whereof, and all the ſad conſequences, which upon the grounds aforeſaid muſt have enſued, and whereby at one blow the intereſt of all honeſt men, and of this glorious cauſe, had been endangered to be laid in the duſt, and theſe nations embroil'd in new troubles, at a time when our enemies abroad were watching all advantages againſt, and ſome of them actually engag'd in war with us; we have been neceſſitated (tho' with much reluctancy) to put an end to this parliament." Then they promiſed, to put the government into the hands of perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty; and at laſt de-

 clar'd,

by the preſent government.* And this very affair gave riſe to the practice of addreſſing, which hath ſince been ſo common under all our monarchs.

Under this convention, choſen by ſummons directed to particular perſons *, it appeared that ſo far was Cromwell

clar'd, "That all magiſtrates and officers whatſoever ſhall proceed in their reſpective places and offices, and obedience ſhall be paid to them as fully, as when the parliament was ſitting."

This declaration was ſubſcribed by the lord-general, and his council of officers, Whitehall, April 22d, 1653. Which council of officers, and ſome others, were ſoon after formed into a council of ſtate, which was compoſed of the thirty perſons following; Cromwell, Fleetwood, Lambert, Liſle, Harriſon, Deſborough, Pickering, Wolleſley, Aſhley Cooper, Hope, Hewſon, Norton, Montague, Bennet, Stapeley, Sydenham, Tomlinſon, Jones, Tichburn, Strickland, Carew, Howard, Broughton, Lawrence, Holiſter, Courtney, Major, St. Nicholas, Moyer, and Williams.

* The form of this ſummons was as follows:

"Foraſmuch as upon the diſſolution of the late parliament, it became neceſſary that the peace, ſafety, and good government of this commonwealth ſhould be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers perſons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honeſty, are by myſelf, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and truſt of ſo weighty affairs is to be committed; and having good aſſurance of your love to, and courage for God, and the intereſt of this cauſe, and of the good people of this commonwealth; I OLIVER CROMWELL, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raiſed and to be raiſed within this commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require you, being one of the perſons nominated, perſonally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall

within

Cromwell from deſigning to take away the freedom of parliaments, that in the inſtrument of government then paſſed, which conſtituted him lord-protector, proviſion was made for carrying on the elections in a more equitable manner, and with leſs poſſibility of corruption and miniſterial influence, than ever had been known under the beſt monarchs; and this by confining the choice to the counties, cities, and great boroughs, according to their number of people, and their real intereſt in the lands, wealth, and trade of the kingdom. He alſo united the three kingdoms in one common intereſt, by allowing Scotland and Ireland to ſend repreſentatives to the parliament at Weſtminſter. All this will appear in the inſtrument itſelf, which was paſſed on the 12th of December, 1653, and conſiſted of forty-two articles, the ſubſtance of which here follows.

"That the ſupreme legiſlative authority be and reſide in a ſingle perſon, and the people in parliament; the ſtyle of which perſon to be lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The executive power to be in the protector, with the advice of his council; the number whereof not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen. All proceedings to run in the name and ſtile of the lord-protector; and all honours, offices, and titles to be derived from him; and that he may pardon all offences but treaſon and murder. The militia, in time of parliament, to be in his and their hands; but in the intervals only in his and his council's. He and



within the city of Weſtminſter, upon the fourth day of July, next enſuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the ſaid truſt, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to ſerve as a member of the county of———And hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand this eighth day of June, 1653.

O. CROMWELL."

his council to make war and peace with foreign princes. Not to make new laws, or abrogate old ones, without conſent of parliament. A parliament to be ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, upon the third day of September, 1654, and afterwards every third year, and, if need be, oftner, which the protector ſhall not diſſolve without conſent in parliament, till after five months. The parliament to conſiſt of four hundred Engliſh, to be choſen according to the propoſitions and numbers hereafter expreſſed, that is to ſay, For the county of Bedford, ſix; viz. for the town of Bedford, one; for the county of Bedford, five. For the county of Berks, ſeven; viz. for the borough of Abington, one; for the borough of Reading, one; for the county of Berks, five, &c. The members for Cornwall were in this inſtrument reduced to twelve; thoſe for Eſſex were enlarged to ſixteen; and the city of London was to chuſe ſix *. The members for Scotland were to be thirty, and the ſame number for Ireland. The ſummoning the parliament to paſs under the ſeal of the commonwealth to the ſheriffs; and if the protector omit or deny that, then the commiſſioner of the ſeal to be held under pain of treaſon to iſſue out ſuch writs; and in caſe of failure in him, the high-ſheriffs. Such as are elected, to be returned into the chancery by the chief magiſtrates (ſheriffs, mayors, or bailiffs) within twenty days after the election. If either the ſheriff, mayor, or bailiff make a falſe return, or any ways procure an undue election, let him be fined two thouſand pounds. Thoſe who have borne arms againſt the parliament to be uncapable of being elected, or giving their vote for any members to ſerve in the next parliament or in the three preceding triennial parliaments; and the Iriſh rebels and papiſts to be for ever uncapable. None to be elected under the age of twenty-one years, nor

* See this liſt at large in the appendix, No. IV. every one that reads it will be apt to wiſh that this part of the inſtrument of government had been kept in force.

nor unleſs he be a man of good converſation. None to have votes in elections, but ſuch as are worth 200 l. Sixty to make a quorum. Bills preſented to the protector, if not aſſented to by him within twenty days, to paſs into laws notwithſtanding; provided they contain nothing contrary to this inſtrument. A competent revenue to be ſettled for the maintenance of 10,000 horſe and dragoons, and 20,000 foot, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and for a convenient number of ſhips to guard the ſeas; and upon abating any of the forces by land or ſea, the monies to be brought to the exchequer to ſerve ſudden occaſions. The raiſing of money for defraying the charge of the preſent extraordinary forces both at land and ſea, to be by conſent in parliament, and not otherwiſe; ſave only that the protector, with the advice of his council, ſhall have power, until the meeting of the firſt parliament, to raiſe money for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and alſo to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of theſe nations; which ſhall be in force, till the parliament ſhall take order concerning the ſame. All forfeited lands unſold to belong to the protector. The protectorate to be elective, but the royal family to be excluded; and no protector after the preſent to be general of the army. Oliver Cromwell to be the preſent protector. All the great officers of the commonwealth, ſuch as chancellor, keeper of the ſeal, treaſurer, admiral, governors of Ireland, Scotland, &c. if they become void in time of parliament, to be ſupplied with their approbation, and in intervals of parliament with the approbation of the council. The chriſtian religion, as contained in the holy ſcriptures, to be the publick profeſſion of theſe nations; and thoſe that adminiſter it, to be maintained by the publick, but by ſome way more convenient and leſs liable to envy than tithes. None to be compelled to conſent to the publick profeſſion by fine, or any puniſhment whatever, but only by perſuaſion and arguments. None that profeſs faith in Chriſt, however otherwiſe they differ,

to be reſtrained from, but to be protected in the exciſe of their religion, ſo they do not quarrel with and diſturb others: this liberty, however, not to extend to popery or prelacy. All ſales of parliament to ſtand good. Articles of peace to be kept. The protectors ſucceſſively, upon entering on their charge, to ſwear to procure by all means the peace, quiet, and welfare of the commonwealth; to obſerve theſe articles, and to adminiſter all things (to their power) according to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms."

§. 3. The protector having been inſtall'd and ſworn *, in a very pompous and ſolemn manner, proceeded

* This was the form of his oath. "Whereas the major part of the laſt parliament (judging that their ſitting any longer, as then conſtituted, would not be for the good of the commonwealth) did diſſolve the ſame, and by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th day of this inſtant December, reſigned unto me their powers and authorities; and whereas it was neceſſary thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy courſe ſhould be taken for the ſettlement of theſe nations upon ſuch a baſis and foundation, as, by the bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure property, and anſwer thoſe ends of religion and liberty, ſo long contended for; and upon full and mature conſideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being ſatisfied that the ſame, through divine aſſiſtance, may anſwer the end aforementioned; and having alſo been deſired and adviſed, as well by ſeveral perſons of intereſt and fidelity in the commonwealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of theſe nations, in the manner expreſſed in the ſaid form of government; I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly: and do promiſe in the preſence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein; but to my power obſerve the

proceeded to the exerciſe of his authority; which he uſed at home with great moderation and equity, but ſo effectually aſſerted at all foreign courts, that he ſoon made the greateſt figure in Europe, and received marks of reſpect from all the ſovereigns in Chriſtendom, who trembled at his power, and courted his friendſhip, at the ſame time that they hated his perſon.

At the time appointed he ſummoned his ſecond parliament, according to the tenor of the recited inſtrument: and the 3d of September being his fortunate day, though it happened to be Sunday, he reſolved to open the ſeſſion. This he did with all the ſolemnity of our kings, in the Painted-chamber at Whitehall. And the next day riding in ſtate to Weſtminſter, he there heard a ſermon: after which, in a long and artful ſpeech to the parliament, he took a view of the ſtate of the nation, and the advantages that had been procured under the preſent government. Some of the paragraphs are as follows.

He told them "the danger of the levelling principles, and of the fifth-monarchy opinions, that the two pretenſions, liberty of the ſubject, and liberty of conſcience, were brought in to patronize thoſe evils.



the ſame, and cauſe them to be obſerved; and ſhall in all other things, to the beſt of my underſtanding, govern theſe nations according to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms, ſeeking their peace, and cauſing juſtice and law to be equally adminiſtered."

After taking this oath, he ſat down in the chair cover'd; and the commiſſioners delivered up the great ſeal to him, and the lord-mayor his ſword and cap of maintenance; which the protector immediately returned to them again. The ceremony being over, the ſoldiers with a ſhout cried out, "God bleſs the lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." And ſo they went back to Whitehall, the lord-mayor covered, carrying the ſword before his highneſs.

Nay theſe abominations ſwelled to that height, tha the ax was laid to the root of the miniſtry; and a the extremity was great before, ſo that no man, tho well approved, might preach, if not ordained; ſ now, on the other hand, they will have ordination nullity upon the calling.

I conceive in my ſoul, ſaid he, that many of th fifth-monarchy opinion have good meanings; and hope this parliament will pluck ſome out of the fire and ſave others with fear: the danger of that ſpiri being not in the notion, but in its proceeding to a civi tranſgreſſion.

Whilſt theſe things were in the midſt of us, and th nation rent and torn from one end to the other; fa mily againſt family, parent againſt child, and nothin in the hearts and minds of men, but overturn, over turn; that common enemy in the mean time ſleep not; ſwarms of jeſuits come over, and have their con ſiſtories abroad, to rule all the affairs of England, an the dependencies thereof: in the mean time viſible en deavours were uſed to hinder the work in Ireland, t obſtruct the work in Scotland; correſpondencies an intelligencies were held to encourage the war in thoſ places.

And withal, we were deeply engaged in a war wit Portugal, whereby our trade ceaſed; and not only ſo but a war with Holland, which conſumed our trea ſure, as much as the aſſeſſment came to. At th ſame time we fell into a war with France, or rathe we were in it: and all this fomented by the diviſion amongſt us; which begat a confidence, that we coul not hold out long; and the calculation had not bee ill, if the Lord had not been gracious to us. Beſides ſtrangers increaſed in the manufacture, the grea ſtaple commodity of this nation.

In ſuch a heap of confuſion was this poor nation and that it might not ſink into a confuſion from th premiſes, a remedy muſt be applied: a remedy hat been applied, This government. A thing that is ſee and read of all, and which (let men ſay what the

will, I can ſpeak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my intention; and let men judge out of the thing itſelf) for the intereſt of the people alone, and for their good, without reſpect had to any other intereſt.

I may, with humbleneſs towards God, and modeſty before you, ſay ſomething in the behalf of it.

It hath endeavoured to reform the laws, and for that end hath join'd perſons (without reflection upon any) of as great integrity and ability as any other, to conſider how the laws might be made plain, ſhort, and eaſy; which may in due time be tendered.

It hath taken care to put into ſeats of juſtice, men of the moſt known integrity and ability.

The chancery hath been reformed, and I hope to the juſt ſatisfaction of all good men.

It hath put a ſtop to that heady way, for every man that will to make himſelf a preacher, having endeavoured to ſettle a way for approbation of men of piety and fitneſs for the work, and the buſineſs committed to perſons both of the preſbyterian and independant judgment; men of as known ability and integrity, as any the nation hath.

It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work, who have been the common ſcorn and reproach to that adminiſtration.

One thing more: it hath been inſtrumental to call a free parliament; bleſſed be God, we ſee here this day a free parliament; and that it may continue ſo, I hope, is in the heart of every good man of England: for my own part, as I deſir'd it above my life, ſo to keep it free, I ſhall value it above my life.

A peace is made with Sweden, wherein an honourable perſon [meaning Whitelock] was inſtrumental; it being of much importance to have a good underſtanding with our proteſtant neighbours.

A peace is alſo made with the Danes, and a peace there that is honourable, and to the ſatisfaction of the merchants.

The Sound is open to us, from whence, as from a fountain, our naval proviſions are ſupplied.

A peace is made with the Dutch, which is ſo well known in the conſequences of it, and the great advantages of a good underſtanding with proteſtant ſtates.

I beg that it may be in your hearts to be zealous of the proteſtant intereſt abroad, which if ever it be like to come under a condition of ſuffering, it is now; many being baniſhed, and driven to ſeek refuge among ſtrangers.

A peace is made with Portugal (though it hung long) of great concernment to trade; and the people that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their conſciences, without being ſubjected to the bloody inquiſition.

A treaty with France likewiſe is now depending.

It may be neceſſary, in the next place, for you to to hear a little of the ſea affairs, and to take notice of the great expence of the forces and fleet; and yet 30,000 l. is now abated of the next three months aſſeſſment.

Theſe things which I have before-mentioned, are but entrances and doors of hope: you are brought to the edge of Canaan: but if the bleſſing and preſence of God go along with you in the management of your affairs, I make no queſtion but he will enable you to lay the top-ſtone of this work.

But this is a maxim not to be deſpiſed: Though peace be made, yet it is intereſt that keeps peace, and farther than that, peace is not to be truſted.

The great end of calling this parliament, is, that the work of God may go on, that the ſhip of this commonwealth may be brought into a ſafe harbour.

I ſhall put you in mind, that you have a great work upon you; Ireland to look to, that the beginning of that government may be ſettled in honour.

That you have before you, the conſideration of thoſe foreign ſtates, with whom peace is not made; who, if they ſee we manage not our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, will retain hopes that we.

may ſtill, under the diſadvantages thereof, break into confuſion.

I ſhall conclude with my perſuaſion to you, to have a ſweet, gracious, and holy underſtanding one of another; and put you in mind of the counſel you heard this day in order thereunto.

And I deſire you to believe, that I ſpeak not to you as one that would be lord over you, but as one that is reſolved to be a fellow-ſervant with you to the intereſt of this great affair."

§. 4. But this parliament, having choſen Lenthal for their ſpeaker, fell immediately upon the only point which the protector would have kept ſacred. They took the inſtrument of government into conſideration, and their firſt debate was upon this queſtion, "Whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the nation ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, and a parliament." Theſe debates continued for ſeven or eight days, till he ſilenced them by a ſpeech, and a recognition oath impoſed on all the members that entered the houſe. Being reſtrained therefore from diſputing the protector's title, they fell upon the other articles of the inſtrument. They declared, "That Oliver Cromwell ſhould be protector during life; and limited the number of forces to be kept up in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with proviſion for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ſhips, that they thought neceſſary for the guard of the ſeas; and ordered 200,000 l. a year for the protector's own expence, the ſalaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambaſſadors; and that Whitehall, St. James's, the Mews, Somerſet-houſe, Greenwich, Hampton-court, Windſor, and the manor of York, be kept unſold for the protector's uſe. They alſo voted a clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the rights of the people of England, and particularly, that no money ſhould be raiſed upon the nation but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the inſtrument of government it was provided, that if

the parliament were not ſitting at the death of the preſent protector, the council ſhould chuſe a ſucceſſor; they reſolved, that nothing ſhould be determined by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to conſider what they would have done. They alſo approved and confirmed the preſent lord-deputy of Ireland, the preſent lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal of England, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and the two chief juſtices. Among other things, they debated the point of liberty of conſcience upon the new government, and agreed to allow it all, who ſhall not maintain atheiſm, popery, prelacy, prophaneneſs, or any damnable hereſies, to be enumerated by the parliament."

Many things were ſaid during theſe debates, which gave great offence to Cromwell and his council. In a word, this parliament was diſſolved after a ſeſſion of five months, by a very tedious and intricate ſpeech *, wherein the protector upbraided them with their late proceedings. And who could wonder at it? Was there ever a man in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, who would ſuffer that authority to be publickly queſtioned? While they had a liberty of doing all they would for the honour of the nation, could they expect the privilege too of inſulting that magiſtrate, in whoſe name they were ſummoned together?

The protector's third parliament, which met on the 17th of September, 1656, was found more complying than either of the former. Some of the members however were excluded, for want of being approved by his highneſs's council, which occaſioned them to petition and remonſtrate very ſtrongly againſt the proceedings of the court. But thoſe who kept their ſeats, having choſen Sir Thomas Widdrington for their ſpeaker, not only approved of the protector's conduct in the war he had undertaken againſt Spain, but

* This ſpeech was full as long as one of the ſermons of thoſe times, and pretty much in the ſame ſtrain.

but paſſed ſeveral acts for ſecuring his perſon and title, for carrying on the preſent war, and for the encouragement of trade; all which received the aſſent of his highneſs, who in a ſhort ſpeech returned them thanks for their care in ſupporting his government.

§. 5. This parliament had not ſat above ſix months, before they drew up a new inſtrument, in order to compliment the protector with the title of king. It met with much oppoſition from the republicans, and the ſoldiers party: but at laſt was carried, and the word King ordered to be inſerted in a blank that was left for that purpoſe; and two other blanks that were left for the parliament, were to be filled up with the words Houſe of commons, and Other houſe. This inſtrument, called "the humble petition and advice of the parliament to his highneſs, was preſented to him by the ſpeaker, who recommended the contents of it in a ſpeech. But the protector, how inclinable ſoever he was to accept of this offer, finding it againſt the humour of the army, and eſpecially that his ſon-in-law Fleetwood and his brother-in-law Deſborough were peculiarly averſe to it, inſtead of giving a ready aſſent, which was expected, deſired "that a committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and ſatisfaction in this great cauſe."

Cromwell, as well as Cæſar, whom he reſembled on many accounts, was not ſo fond of a title which he ſaw would create diſcontent, as to aſſume it at all adventures. Fond enough indeed he would have been of it, if theſe obſtacles had not interfered *: but when he

* Ludlow informs us, that he endeavoured by all poſſible means to perſuade the officers of the army to approve the deſign; for which purpoſe he one time invited himſelf to dine with colonel Deſborough, and

he found that his beſt friends in the army were immoveable, all the arguments of the commons committee, of

and carried lieutenant-general Fleetwood with him. He began to droll with them about monarchy, and ſpeaking ſlightly of it, ſaid, "It was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore he wonder'd that men would not pleaſe the children, and let them enjoy their rattle." But they being very ſerious upon the matter, aſſured him, "That there was more in it than he perceiv'd: that thoſe who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and if he accepted of it, he would draw inevitable ruin on himſelf and friends." Having thus ſounded them, that he might conclude as he began, he told them, "They were a couple of ſcrupulous fellows;" and ſo went away. At another time entering more ſeriouſly into debate with theſe two, he ſaid, "It was a tempting of God to expoſe ſo many worthy men to death and poverty, when there was a certain way to ſecure them." But they inſiſting upon the oaths they had taken, he reply'd, that theſe oaths were againſt the power and tyranny of kings, but not againſt the four letters that made the word KING."

The next day his highneſs ſent a meſſage to the houſe, requiring their attendance to-morrow morning in the Painted-chamber; intending, as all men thought, there to declare his acceptance of the crown: but in the mean time meeting with his brother Deſborough, as he was walking in the park, and acquainting him with his reſolution, he received this anſwer from him, "That then he gave the cauſe, and his family alſo for loſt; and though he reſolved never to act againſt him, yet he would not act for him after that time." And ſo, after ſome farther diſcourſe, Deſborough went home, and there found colonel Pride, whom the protector had knighted; and imparting to him his highneſs's intention to accept the title of king, Pride immediately anſwered, "He ſhall

of which Whitelock was chairman, tho' they were inculcated for two days together, could not prevail with

not." Deſborough aſked him, "How he would hinder it?" Whereupon Pride ſaid, "Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it." And ſo they both went to Dr. Owen, and prevailed on him to draw a petition according to their mind.

The next morning, the houſe being met, ſome officers of the army coming to the parliament doors, ſent in a meſſage to colonel Deſborough, to let him know that they had a petition, and deſired him to preſent it to the houſe. But he knowing the contents of it, and thinking it not proper for him to take publick notice of it before it was preſented, inform'd the houſe, that certain officers of the army had a petition to preſent to them; and mov'd that they ſhould be call'd in, and have leave to preſent it with their own hands; which the houſe generally agreed to, not thinking the army would oppoſe their deſigns. And ſo the petition being delivered by lieutenant-colonel Maſon, was read in the houſe, and was to this effect; "That they had hazarded their lives againſt monarchy, and were ſtill ready ſo to do, in defence of the liberties of the nation: that having obſerv'd in ſome men great endeavours to bring the nation again under their old ſervitude, by preſſing their general to take upon him the title and government of king, in order to deſtroy him, and weaken the hands of thoſe who were faithful to the publick; they therefore humbly deſir'd that they would diſcountenance all ſuch perſons and endeavours, and continue ſtedfaſt in the old cauſe, for the preſervation of which they for their parts were moſt ready to lay down their lives." This petition was ſubſcribed by two colonels, ſeven lieutenant-colonels, and ſixteen captains, who, with ſuch officers in the houſe as were of the ſame opinion, made up the majority of thoſe relating to that part of the army which was then quartered about the town.

Ludlow

with him to run the risk of losing the affections of the soldiers. After long deliberation therefore, and some close conferences with his brother and son-in-law beforementioned, who stood firmly to their opinion, he ordered the parliament to attend him in the Painted-chamber, and there in an obscure speech, containing much about conscience, and the pains he had taken to satisfy himself, declared, "that he could not undertake the government with the title of king." Tho' at the same time he intimated, that he thought the settlement imperfect without it: and every one might discover, that the motive of his refusal was rather policy than conscience *.

While

Ludlow here observes, that it was difficult to determine whether the parliament or the protector was most surpriz'd at this unexpected address. As soon as his highness heard of it, he sent for his son-in-law Fleetwood, and told him, "That he wonder'd he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hindered, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army; and therefore he desired him to hasten to the house, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein." Accordingly the lieutenant-general went immediately thither, and told them, "That the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answered, at this time, the contents of it being to desire them not to press his highness to be king; whereas the present business was to receive his answer to what had been formerly offered to him: and thereupon he desired that the debate of it might be put off, till they had received his answer." The house having agreed to this, and received a message from the protector, they met him, and received his refusal of the royal title. Memoirs, p. 586, &c.

* See in the appendix, No. VI. a large account of the arguments offered by the committee of parliament to persuade him to accept of the title

While this buſineſs was in agitation, the lord Broghill coming one day to Cromwell, and telling him he had been in the city, the protector enquired of him, "what news he had heard there?" Broghill told him, "he had heard he was in treaty with the king, who was to be reſtored, and to marry his daughter." Cromwell ſhewing no diſpleaſure at this, his lordſhip continued, "In the ſtate to which things are reduced, I can ſee no better expedient: you may bring him in upon what terms you pleaſe; and your highneſs may retain the ſame authority you now have, with leſs trouble." To this Cromwell anſwered, "The king can never forgive his father's blood." Broghill replied, "You are one of the many that were concerned in that, but will be alone in the merit of reſtoring." Upon which the protector ſaid, "He is ſo damnably debauch'd, he will undo us all;" and ſo went off to other diſcourſe, without any emotion; which made his lordſhip conclude, that he had often thought of the expedient. This ſtory is told by biſhop Burnet, who had it from lord Broghill when earl of Orrery *. §. 6.

of king, and the protector's own reaſons for refuſing it.

* Mr. Echard tells us of a private application made by king Charles himſelf to Cromwell, which he ſays came from the mouth of the dutcheſs of Lauderdale, who told the ſame to a perſon, of whoſe credit he could make no queſtion. That lady, afterward dutcheſs of Lauderdale, being a particular friend and acquaintance of Cromwell's, was employed it ſeems to make a private offer and propoſal to him, in ſubſtance as follows: "That if he would reſtore, or permit the king to return to his throne, he would ſend him a blank paper, for him to write his own terms and limitations, and ſettle what power and riches he pleaſed upon himſelf, family and friends." This propoſal was firſt communicated to the protector's lady, who liked it very well; believing that, beſides other advantages, it would bring abſolute indemnity and ſecurity to her huſband, and the

§. 6. Cromwell having refuſed the title of king, the parliament ſoon voted, "That he ſhould enjoy the title and authority he had already;" which was in many particulars enlarged beyond what it was by the former inſtrument, by the new one, called "the humble petition and advice." This inſtrument conſiſted of eighteen articles; but I ſhall only give the ſubſtance of the principal ones, as follows. "That his highneſs, under the title of lord protector, would be pleaſed to exerciſe the office of chief magiſtrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland; and to govern according to all things in this petition and advice: alſo, that in his life time he would appoint the perſon that ſhould ſucceed in the government after his death. That he would call parliaments conſiſting of two houſes, once in three years at fartheſt. That thoſe perſons who were legally choſen by a free election of the people to ſerve in parliament, might not be excluded from doing their duties, but by conſent of that houſe whereof they were members. That none but thoſe under the qualifications therein mentioned, ſhould be capable to ſerve as members in parliament. That the power of the other houſe be limited as therein preſcribed. That the laws and ſtatutes of the land be obſerved and kept; and no laws altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, or new laws made, but by act of parliament. That the yearly ſum of a million of pounds ſterling be for the maintenance of the navy and army; and 300,000 l. for the ſupport of the government

the whole family. She therefore took an opportunity when ſhe was in bed with him, to mention the offer to him, and endeavour'd to perſuade him to accept of it, as being of the higheſt moment to the happineſs of himſelf and relations. But he without minding her arguments and perſuaſions, preſently told her "She was a fool;" adding this ſhrewd ſentence "If Charles Stuart can forgive me all that I have done againſt him and his family, he does not deſerve to wear the crown of England."

vernment, beſides other temporary ſupplies, as the commons in parliament ſhould ſee neceſſary. That the number of the protector's council ſhould not be above one and twenty; whereof the quorum to be ſeven, and not under. The chief officers of ſtate, as chancellor, keeper of the great ſeal, &c. to be approved by parliament. That his highneſs would encourage a godly miniſtry in theſe nations; and that ſuch as do revile or diſturb them in the worſhip of God, may be puniſhed according to law; and where the laws are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf. That the proteſtant chriſtian religion, as it is contain'd in the old and new teſtament, be aſſerted and held forth for the publick profeſſion of theſe nations, and no other; and that a confeſſion of faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of theſe nations; and none be permitted, by words or writings, to revile or reproach the ſaid confeſſion of faith."

This inſtrument being digeſted and agreed upon, the houſe ſent to the protector for an audience; which he appointed to be on the 25th of May, in the Banqueting-houſe. The members waiting upon him accordingly, their ſpeaker Widdrington preſented and read the ſaid inſtrument to him, and deſired his aſſent; which, after a long pauſe, he with all the geſtures of concern and perplexity granted. And thus did his highneſs accompliſh a chief part of what he deſigned; which was to have his power and authority confirmed by parliament.

§. 7. It was thought proper, after this tranſaction, that the protector ſhould have a ſolemn inveſtiture. Notice of this was given to all foreign ambaſſadors and miniſters, and Weſtminſter-hall was prepared and adorned as ſumptuouſly as it could be for a coronation. In ſhort, the ceremony was perform'd on the 26th of June, 1657, with the utmoſt grandeur and magnificence, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people; and there was a fine medal ſtruck on the occa-

occaſion, which had on one ſide the protector's buſt with his title round it, and on the other an olive-tree flouriſhing in a field, with the words "non deficient olivæ," by way of alluſion to his name.

Things went on amicably between the protector and his parliament, many bills were paſſed and ſigned, and the greateſt harmony ſeemed eſtabliſhed. But about the beginning of the year 1658, his highneſs, according to the tenor of the late petition, and advice, ſent his writs of ſummons to divers perſons, to ſit as members of the other, or upper houſe. The forms of theſe writs, which were about ſixty, was the ſame uſed by our monarchs, for the ſummoning of peers to parliament; and indeed many of the perſons ſummoned were actually peers, and others were made ſo in the ſucceeding reign *. Theſe being met in the houſe

* Their names were, the lord Richard Cromwell, the protector's eldeſt ſon; lord Henry Cromwell, his other ſon, lord deputy of Ireland; Nathaniel Fiennes, and John Liſle, lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal; Henry Lawrence, lord preſident of the council; Charles Fleetwood, lieutenant-general of the army; Bulſtrode Whitelock, and William Sydenham, commiſſioners of the treaſury; Robert earl of Warwick, Edmund earl of Mulgrave, Edward earl of Mancheſter, William viſcount Say and Seal, Philip viſcount Liſle, Philip lord Wharton, Thomas lord Fauconberg, George lord Eure, John Claypole, eſq; Charles Howard, eſq; whom the protector made a viſcount, John Deſborough, and Edward Montague, generals at ſea; Sir Charles Wolſley, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Walter Strickland, eſq; major-general Skippon, colonel Philip Jones, Sir William Strickland, Francis Rouſe, eſq; John Fiennes, eſq; Sir Francis Ruſſel, Sir Thomas Honeywood, Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, Sir John Hobart, Sir Richard Onſlow, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir William Roberts, lord chief-juſtice Glynn, lord chief-juſtice St. John, William Pierpoint,

houſe of lords, the protector went thither in royal ſtate, and made a ſpeech from the throne, beginning in the old ſtile, "My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of the houſe of commons."

This ſtep, however, occaſioned a diviſion in the lower houſe, which ended in the diſſolution of this his third and laſt parliament. For ſeveral of theſe new lords being taken from among the commons, his intereſt was weakened in that houſe, to which many of the ſecluded members were alſo now admitted. Hereupon they fell to examining the authority and juriſdiction of the other houſe. And his highneſs finding them obſtinate on theſe points, after having adviſed them to unity without effect, ſent for them by the black rod into the lord's houſe, where he declared "ſeveral urgent and weighty reaſons, which made it neceſſary for him to diſſolve this parliament; and accordingly he did diſſolve them.

Theſe peremptory ſummons's and ſudden diſſolutions, it muſt be owned, were not agreeable to the Engliſh conſtitution, as it is now ſettled, and ſeem to have the appearance of abſolute deſpotiſm: but many ſteps that were taken in preceding reigns, by monarchs whoſe right was in all the forms acknowledged, and who therefore had no excuſe for ſuch violent proceedings as Cromwell's ſituation might ſome-

point, eſq; John Crew, eſq; Alexander Popham, eſq; Sir Chriſtopher Pack, Sir Robert Tichburn, Edward Whalley, eſq; Sir John Barkſtead, lieutenant of the tower; Sir George Fleetwood, Sir Thomas Pride, Sir John Hewſon, Richard Ingoldſby, eſq; James Berry, eſq; William Goffe, eſq; Thomas Cooper, eſq; Edmund Thomas, eſq; George Monk, general in Scotland; David earl of Caſſils, Sir William Lockhart, Sir Archibald Johnſton; William Steel, lord chancellor of Ireland; Roger lord Broghill, Sir Matthew Tomlinſon, William Lenthal and Richard Hambden, eſqrs. Some of theſe were knights of the protector's own making.

ſometimes require, may ſerve greatly to alleviate, if not wholly to remove the weight of this accuſation; eſpecially if we reflect, that by all the appearances under his adminiſtration, it ſeems evident that Cromwell would never have taken one ſtep contrary to the liberties of parliament, provided they had only been quiet on the article of his authority, which it was not reaſonable to think he would ſuffer to be debated, after he was once in poſſeſſion.

§. 8. When Cromwell firſt aſſumed the government, there were three great parties in the nation all againſt him, the epiſcopal party, the preſbyterians, and the republicans. It required the greateſt ſkill and dexterity to manage theſe very oppoſite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conſpiracies they were ſo ready to run into. All this however he was able to accompliſh, by the ſuperior force of his genius; and biſhop Burnet, who was no friend to the protector's memory, informs us in what manner he proceeded. He had, according to that prelate, only the army to rely upon; and that enthuſiaſtick ſpirit he had taken ſo much pains to raiſe among them, rendered them very intractable: So that he was forced to break and impriſon many of his officers; and he flattered the reſt as well as he could, going on in his old way of long and dark diſcourſes.

He was apprehenſive of aſſaſſination, and other plottings, from the cavalier party: as to the former of which, he took a method that proved of great uſe to him. He would many times openly declare, "that in a war it was neceſſary to return upon any ſide, all the violent things that any of the one ſide did to the other; and this for the preventing greater miſchief, and for bringing men to fair war: and that aſſaſſinations were ſuch deteſtable things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the king's party ſhould endeavour to aſſaſſinate him, and fail in it, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and

deſtroy

deſtroy the whole family." And he pretended he had inſtruments to do this, whenever he ſhould order it. This ſtruck ſuch a terror, that it proved a better ſecurity to him than his guards. And whenever they were plotting againſt him, he had his agents and ſpies amongſt them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their ſchemes were broken, and their deſigns fruſtrated, before they could bring them to perfection.

The preſbyterians ſo dreaded the fury of the commonwealth party, that they looked upon Cromwell's turning them out to be a happy deliverance for them: and to ſoften theſe the more, he aſſured that he would maintain a publick miniſtry, with all due encouragement, which the republicans were moſtly againſt; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome independants to be tryers of all public preachers, who ſhould, for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The perſons ſo commiſſioned did likewiſe diſpoſe of all the livings that were in the gift of the crown, of the biſhops, and of the cathedral churches. Nevertheleſs, when he perceived that the preſbyterians began to take too much upon them, to be uneaſy under the government, or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let looſe againſt them thoſe of the other ſects, who took pleaſure in diſputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worſhip: and 'tis ſaid, he was by many heard to glory, "that he had curb'd that inſolent ſect, that would ſuffer none but itſelf." So that they were forced to thank him for permitting them the exerciſe of their religious worſhip in their own congregations.

The republican party were his greateſt enemies, and moſt bent on his ruin; looking on him as the perſon who had perfidiouſly broken all their meaſures, and betrayed their glorious cauſe. This party therefore he ſtudied by all means to divide among themſelves, and to ſet the fifth-monarchy men, and other enthuſiaſts, againſt thoſe who proceeded only upon the principles

principles of civil liberty; ſuch as Algernoon Sidney, Henry Nevill, Martin, Ludlow, Wildman, and Harrington.

As to Vane and his party, who were likeviſe independants, they indeed, from the time they were turned out of the long parliament, retired quietly into the country, where they endeavoured to prejudice their neighbours againſt the preſent government, and yet managed themſelves with ſo much caution, as not to diſturb the quiet of the nation, nor give the protector any great advantage againſt them.

The levellers, many of whom had been the moſt active agitators in the army, were the moſt furious and deſperate of all the commonwealth party. Theſe, from the time the general aſſumed the title of protector, which was to them as odious as that of king, profeſſed a mortal hatred to his perſon; and he knew very well that theſe men, as well as the laſt mentioned, had great credit in the army, and with ſome of the chief officers; ſo that he more really dreaded them than all the king's party, and ſubtily coloured many of the preparations he made againſt them, as if they had been deſigned againſt the other.

The fifth-monarchy men ſeemed to be in daily expectation of the coming of king Jeſus, and the protector found it no eaſy matter to give them ſatisfaction; ſince his aſſuming the government after this manner, looked like a ſtep to kingſhip, which they repreſented as the great anti-chriſt, which hindred Chriſt's being ſet on his throne. To theſe men he would ſay with many tears, "that he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the protectorſhip; ſince nothing was more contrary to his genius, than a ſhew of greatneſs: but he ſaw it was neceſſary at that time to keep the nation from falling into extreme diſorder, and from being open to the common enemy; and therefore he only ſtept in between the living and the dead, in that interval, till

God

God ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought to ſettle; and then he would ſurrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the ſorrow with which he was affected, while under that ſhew of dignity." He would alſo carry himſelf with great familiarity towards theſe men, and enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered by him, that he might ſee how little he cared for thoſe diſtances, which for form's ſake he was forced to keep up with others; and their diſcourſe commonly ended in a long prayer.

Thus, with much ado, he pretty well managed the enthuſiaſts of the commonwealth party. As to the other republicans, many of whom were inclined to deiſm, he called them 'the heathens,' and acknowledged he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had ſome chaplains of all ſorts, and became at length more gentle to the epiſcopal party, who had their meetings in ſeveral places about London, without being moleſted by him. In the end, even the Roman catholicks courted him; and he with wonderful art carried things farther with all parties than was thought poſſible, conſidering the great difficulties he had to encounter with. For, that he might the better manage the ſeveral factions he ſtood moſt in awe of, he made choice of the moſt active and leading men into his council, by whoſe influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each party.

§. 9. But notwithſtanding this refined management, and the great influence he had over the nation in general, there were ſeveral plots and conſpiracies formed againſt him during his protectorſhip. The firſt deſign that was diſcovered, at the head of which were Mr. Fox, Mr. Gerard, and Mr. Vowel, was to murder him in his way to Hampton-court, to ſeize the guards, the Tower, and the magazines, and then to proclaim the king. For this Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and Vowel

hanged at Charing-croſs: but Fox, by making an open confeſſion, obtained his pardon.

In the ſame year, 1654, a deſign was formed for a general riſing of the royaliſts, in divers parts of the kingdom. But the private intelligence which the protector received of it, on which ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and many arms ſeized, prevented the fury of the intended blow. Something however was attempted in the north, but to no effect; the revolters diſperſing before any forces arrived againſt them, and leaving all their arms. The moſt obſtinate ſtruggle was in the weſt, at the time of Saliſbury aſſizes, where the conſpirators ſeized the two judges, and took away their commiſſions: but this too was quickly over, without the help of the army. Colonel Penruddock, captain Grove, and a few others, were executed for it at Exeter; and ſome of the common people concerned were tranſported to the Weſt-Indies. This plot, which was deſigned to ruin the protector, ſerved but to advance his credit, and confirm his authority. It cleared him of the reproach of inventing plots himſelf, as a pretence to keep up the army; and gave him a good colour of excuſe for the order which ſoon followed, by advice of his council, "that all who had borne arms for the king, and declared themſelves of his party, ſhould be decimated, or pay a tenth part of their eſtates, to ſupport the charge of ſuch extraordinary forces, as their ſeditious practices obliged him to keep up." This was accompany'd with a declaration, "that the charge ſhould be laid upon thoſe who had occaſioned it, and not upon the party who had already been ſo much ſufferers.

The laſt ſtruggle of the royal party was about a year before the protector's death. There was not only to be an inſurrection in England, but ſeveral regiments in Flanders commanded by Engliſhmen, who were then aſſiſting the Spaniards againſt the French and Cromwell, were to have been ſuddenly tranſported over. And to promote the riſing at home, a very

very bold paper was induſtriouſly diſperſed, entitled, "Killing no murder;" the deſign of which was to get the protector aſſaſſinated *. It was written by colonel

* The dedication of it runs thus:

To his highneſs OLIVER CROMWELL.

"May it pleaſe your highneſs,

How I have ſpent ſome hours of the leiſure your highneſs hath been pleaſed to give me, this following paper wil give your highneſs an account. How you will pleaſe to interpret it I cannot tell; but I can with confidence ſay, my intention in it is to procure your highneſs that juſtice nobody yet does you; and to let the people ſee, the longer they defer it, the greater injury they do both themſelves and you. To your highneſs juſtly belongs the honour of dying for the people: and it cannot chuſe but be an unſpeakable conſolation to you in the laſt moments of your life, to conſider, with how much benefit to the world you are like to leave it. 'Tis then only, my lord, the titles you now uſurp will be truly yours: you will then be indeed the deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage little inferior to that from which Moſes deliver'd his: you will then be the true reformer, which you would now be thought: religion ſhall be then reſtored; liberty aſſerted; and parliaments have their privileges they have fought for: we ſhall then hope, that other laws will have place beſides thoſe of the ſword; and that juſtice ſhall be otherwiſe defined, than the will and pleaſure of the ſtrongeſt: and we ſhall then hope that men will keep oaths again, and not have the neceſſity of being falſe and perfidious to preſerve themſelves, and be like their rulers.

All this we hope, from your highneſs's happy expiration, who are the true father of your country: for while you live, we can call nothing ours; and

colonel Titus, under the borrowed name of William Allen. But ſo good was the intelligence which his highneſs kept up, that he ſeized ſeveral of the conſpirators before they could get together, and publiſhed a pro-

it is from your death, that we hope for our inheritances.

Let this conſideration arm and fortify your highneſs's mind againſt the fears of death, and the terrors of your evil conſcience, that the good you will do by your death will ſomewhat ballance the evils of your life. And if, in the black catalogue of high malefactors, few can be found, that have liv'd more to the affliction and diſturbance of mankind, than your highneſs hath done; yet your greateſt enemies will not deny, but there are likewiſe as few, that have expired more to the univerſal benefit of mankind, than your highneſs is like to do.

To haſten this great good, is the chief end of my writing this paper: and if it have the effect I hope it will, your highneſs will quickly be out of the reach of men's malice, and your enemies will only be able to wound you in your memory, which ſtrokes you will not feel.

That your highneſs may be ſpeedily in this ſecurity, is the univerſal wiſh of your grateful country! This is the deſire and prayer of the good and the bad; and, it may be, is the only thing, wherein all ſects and factions do agree in their devotions, and is our only common-prayer. But amongſt all that put in their requeſts and ſupplications for your highneſs's ſpeedy deliverance from all earthly troubles, none is more aſſiduous, or more fervent, than he, that, with the reſt of the nation, hath the honour to be.

(May it pleaſe your highneſs),

Your highneſs's preſent ſlave and vaſſal,

proclamation for apprehending of others. This was followed by addreſſes from the city of London to the army, which greatly intimidated all that had engaged for the king; and ſo upon the execution of Dr. Hewet, Sir Henry Slingſby, and a few of meaner rank, the whole affair blew over.

This attempt, however, was thought the more formidable, becauſe another conſpiracy was at the ſame time on foot, among the fifth-monarchy men. Major-general Harriſon was very deep in this affair, and ſeveral conſultations had been held about it, at a houſe in Shoreditch. But their proceedings were all known through the means of ſecretary Thurloe, and the heads of their party ſeized on the very night appointed for their rendezvous. Theſe were committed to priſon, and there kept for a long time; but none of them were executed till after the reſtoration, for other crimes.

There had, before this, been two bold attempts by ſome of the republican party. The firſt was in 1654, when major John Wildman, who had been expell'd the houſe of commons by the protector, was ſeized with a paper dictated by him, entitled, "The declaration of the free and well-affected people of England, now in arms againſt the tyrant Oliver Cromwell, Eſq;" But this man, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, was after a ſhort impriſonment ſet at liberty. The other was in 1656, when Miles Syndercomb, a leveller that had been caſhier'd, combined with two of the protector's life-guards, to aſſaſſinate him near Brentford. Syndercomb, being betray'd by the other, ſtoutly denied the fact, but was condemned by lord-chief-juſtice Glynn He died before the day appointed for his execution, and was buried on Tower-hill, where a ſtake was drove through his body.

We have not many inſtances in hiſtory, if any at all, of a perſon who roſe from among the people to the higheſt authority, that did not ſtain his adminiſtration with more blood, in a judiciary way, than our

protector. Let us only compare his executions with those of the second triumvirate at Rome, when all the nobleſt patriots of that once flouriſhing commonwealth, were ſacrificed to the ſuſpicions of Mark Anthony, and young Octavius. Yet the latter of theſe, thro' an exceſs of good fortune, became the delight of his people, the patron and theme of all the learned and ingenious, and the envy of ſucceeding princes. What leſs might have been expected of Cromwell, had he lived to get over the remains of prejudice, to put the glorious ſchemes he had formed in execution, and to ſhew himſelf what he really ſeems to have been, a true friend of liberty, and a lover of mankind in general?

§. 10. In order to make his government ſecure, at the time when the royaliſts were plotting his deſtruction, Cromwell inſtituted a new order of deputies, under the name of major-generals, who were in the nature of prefects, or governors of provinces. They were to have the inſpection of the inferior magiſtrates in every county, to commit ſuſpected perſons into cuſtody, and to put in execution many other directions: there was no appeal from them, but to the protector himſelf. This office however continued not long: for being inveſted with great power, the major-generals carried it in a very high and arbitrary manner; which occaſioned their ſuppreſſion by the parliament, at the motion of Mr. Cleypole, the protector's ſon-in-law.

It was hardly poſſible, indeed, for any governor, in ſuch a precarious ſituation, to ſhew more regard than Cromwell did for the rights and properties of private men. He ſupplied the benches at Weſtminſter with the ableſt of lawyers, whom he had invited to the publick ſervice. Maynard, Twiſden, Nudigate, Windham, and other gentlemen of great integrity and learning, were made by him ſerjeants at law, and Mr. Matthew Hale, afterwards the famous lord chief juſtice Sir Matthew, was advanced to be

juſt

juſtice of the common pleas. Mr. John Thurloe, who had been ſecretary to the chief juſtice St. John, was raiſed to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, of which he acquitted himſelf with indefatigable diligence. Milton, the great Milton, was Latin ſecretary; a man that would have done honour to the mightieſt monarch, to the moſt polite and learned court, in the beſt of ages. In a word, the fleet and army were well paid; the city of London had the power of its own militia, under their old major-general Skippon; the common people were eaſed of ſome of their taxes: nor can we better ſum up the character of the civil government at this time, than in the following extract, which is chiefly taken from Echard, a moſt virulent enemy of the protector and his friends.

"Cromwell, tho' he proceeded in an arbitrary manner againſt thoſe who conteſted his authority, yet in all other caſes, where the life of his juriſdiction was not concerned, he ſeemed to have a great reverence for the law, and the conſtitution, rarely interpoſing between party and party; and to do him juſtice, there appeared in his government many things that were truly great and praiſe-worthy. Juſtice, as well diſtributive as commutative, was by him reſtored almoſt to its antient grace and ſplendor; the judges executed their office without covetouſneſs, according to law and equity, and the laws, except ſome few, where himſelf was immediately concerned, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Mens manners, outwardly at leaſt, became likewiſe reformed, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the antient laws now revived, and put in execution. There was a ſtrict diſcipline kept in his court, where drunkenneſs, whoredom, and extortion, were either baniſhed, or ſeverely rebuked. Trade began again to flouriſh and proſper, and moſt things to put on a happy and promiſing aſpect. The protector alſo ſhewed a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The univerſity of

Oxford, in particular, acknowledged his highneſs's reſpect to them, in continuing their chancellor, and beſtowing on the publick library there four-and-[illegible]ty Greek manuſcripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity-reader. He alſo ordered a ſcheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at Durham, for the convenience of the northern ſtudents.* Towards all who complied with his pleaſure, and courted his protection, he manifeſted great civility, generoſity, and bounty. No man affected to ſeem more tender of the clergy than himſelf, tho' he would not liſt himſelf in any particular ſect; ſaying, "it was his only wiſh and deſire to ſee the church in peace, and that all would gather into one ſheepfold, under one ſhepherd, Jeſus Chriſt, and mutually love one another." Tho' the publick uſe of the common-prayer was denied

* In purſuance of this ſcheme. (which was drawn in conſequence of a petition from the city of Durham, the county of Northumberland, and the town of Newcaſtle) the protector iſſued a long writ of privy ſeal, conſiſting of twenty-three articles, and dated May 15, 1657. It eſtabliſhed a provoſt, two preachers, four profeſſors, four tutors, four ſchoolmaſters or fellows, twenty-four ſcholars, 12 exhibitioners, and eighteen freeſchool ſcholars; fixed their endowment; gave them the library of the dean and chapter of Durham; with liberty to purchaſe lands, ſue, or be ſued; a common ſeal and ſtatutes, with two viſitors, and the privilege of printing bibles; regulated the power of the maſter and other officers; excuſed them from watch and ward, &c. Mr. Peck has preſerved this piece entire, as alſo an addreſs from the provoſt and fellows of the college of Durham to his highneſs Richard lord protector, &c. dated in December 1658, and full of the praiſes of his father.

denied to the epiſcopal party, yet he allow'd the uſe of their rites in private houſes; and milder courſes were taken than under the tyranny of others."

## CHAP. VIII.

*Protector* CROMWELL's *behaviour towards foreign princes and ſtates, his zeal for the honour of* ENGLAND, *the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of mankind.*

§. 1. WE are now to view the protector upon the very pinacle of fortune, where he behaved with all becoming dignity, as he had done in every other ſituation. It has been remarked of him, that though his great abilities never appeared till they were called into action, yet they were always found ſuperior to the preſent occaſion: ſo that whatever character he aſſumed, he filled it to the utmoſt, or even ſurpaſſed our common ideas of grandeur. Having raiſed himſelf to the ſovereign dignity, he carried it higher, both in peace and war, than any Engliſh monarch had done before him. As the titles of dictator and imperator at Rome, which were firſt invented to ward off the odium attending that of king, were rendered more illuſtrious by the great men who bore them, than that of king had ever been; ſo the word protector, which was uſed originally only for the guardian of a monarch under age, when it was annex'd to the name of Cromwell, though for the ſame reaſon that gave riſe to dictator and imperator, it ſignified ſomething more in all the courts of Europe, than either king, emperor, or any other title then in being. In order

to make good this assertion, I shall consider in a few words some of those acts of sovereignty, which he exercised towards foreign princes and states.

As I have hitherto in this essay, so far as the subjects would permit, thrown together facts of the same or a like nature; that I may not here deviate from this method, I shall first take a cursory view of the wars in which he was engaged, those in particular against Holland and Spain; then consider him as improving the arts of peace, so as to make himself honoured, courted, and even dreaded by his allies. In both we shall meet with several instances of his surprising policy, his true regard for the interest of his country, and his indefatigable industry in promoting and executing his designs.

§. 2. In the year 1652, a war broke out between the two republicks of England and Holland, which produced the most terrible sea-fights that had ever been known, some of them lasting for three days successively. The brave admiral Blake, with Pen, Dean, Monk, and Ayscough, on one side, were against the famous De Ruyter, Van Tromp, De Wit, and other gallant Dutch commanders, on the other. The quarrel began upon the English demanding the tenth herring of the Dutch fishermen on our coast, in acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the seas. In the several engagements of the first year, the English had so much the better, that about the beginning of 1653, the states sent over letters to the English parliament for putting an end to the war, offering to pay them a large sum, besides acknowledging their sovereignty of the seas. Though Cromwell had not yet assumed the supreme power, yet he had it so far in effect, that particular application was made to him in this affair. The negotiation, however, did not succeed at present.

But upon Cromwell's turning out the long parliament, their high mightinesses did not doubt but they should make an advantage of the confusion, which they

they thought muſt ſucceed. They no longer applied therefore for peace, but ſent out a fleet with all imaginable diligence. Cromwell, for his part, was not behindhand with them in his preparations, but gave them ſuch a reception by his admirals, as they did not expect: ſo that after a long and bloody engagement, in which the Engliſh loſt little beſides their admiral Dean, the Dutch were obliged to ſhelter themſelves behind the ſands between Calais and Dunkirk, to prevent the deſtruction of their whole fleet. This made the ſtates ſue again for peace, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner: to which Cromwell was not averſe, but would allow of no ceſſation till it was actually concluded. Both parties therefore got ready again for an engagement, the Dutch having no leſs than 125 ſail.

They came forth with great confidence of ſucceſs; but ſtill found the Engliſh an over match: for after a fight for two days, in which Van Tromp was killed, and about thirty of their ſhips fired or ſunk, they made all the ſail they could towards the Texel. This victory, tho' it coſt the Engliſh dear, was ſo acceptable to Cromwell and his parliament, that a day of thankſgiving was appointed for it; and gold chains, with fine medals repreſenting a ſea-fight, were given to the admirals for their good ſervices. On the other hand it put the Hollanders into the utmoſt confuſion, and occaſioned ſome dangerous inſurrections of the common people. The ſtates applied themſelves therefore to Cromwell's parliament and council; who would grant them no other terms, than the taking a leaſe, and paying an annual rent for the liberty of fiſhing in the Engliſh ſeas.

But this parliament and council having ſurrendered up their powers to the lord protector, they made a freſh application to him alone; who at laſt, when he ſaw no greater advantages could be expected, granted them a peace upon the following conditions. 1. That they ſhould not permit any of the king's party to reſide within their dominions.

2. That

2 That they ſhould never ſuffer the prince of Orange to be ſtadtholder, general, or admiral. 3. That they ſhould reſtore the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt-Indies, which they had taken from the Engliſh in the reign of king James the firſt. 4. That they ſhould pay 300,000 l. for the barbarities formerly exerciſed on the Engliſh at Amboyna. 5. That they ſhould never diſpute the rights of the Engliſh flag. Glorious conditions for the protector! and ſuch as none of our monarchs could procure before him, tho' the terms of the third and fourth articles had been often conteſted.

§. 3. The greateſt difficulty the protector met with, in relation to foreign affairs, was, which ſide to chuſe in the war between France and Spain. Great application was made to him from both ſides. Spain, ſays biſhop Burnet, ordered their ambaſſador de Cardenas, a great and able man, to compliment him, and to engage, that in caſe he would join with them, they would pay him 100,000 crowns per month, and 200,000 crowns by way of advance, and not make peace till Calais was again recovered to the Engliſh, which had now been loſt about an hundred years. The prince of Condé likewiſe, who was then in hoſtility with France, and ſupported by Spain, offered to turn proteſtant, and, upon Cromwell's aſſiſting him, to make a deſcent in Guienne, where he doubted not but the proteſtants would join him, and enable him ſo to diſtreſs France, as to obtain for themſelves, and for England, what conditions the protector pleaſed to dictate. But that prince's pretenſions, upon farther enquiry, were found to be ill-grounded and vain. Mazarine, on the other hand, endeavoured to outbid Spain, by offering to aſſiſt him to take Dunkirk, then in the Spaniards hands, and a place of much more importance than Calais; and at the ſame time inſinuated, that in caſe he joined with Spain, an army of Huguenots, headed by the king or his brother, ſhould make a deſcent on England:

land; which, at that time, might be of dangerous conſequence to Cromwell, conſidering how many enemies he had at home.

This, the biſhop aſſures us, was the thing that determined him to join with the French; and in conſequence of the treaty, which was concluded ſoon after, the king and duke were diſmiſſed the kingdom of France with many excuſes, ſome money, and abundance of promiſes. The prelate mentions another thing, which, he ſays, had great weight with the protector, while he was yet balancing in his mind about his alliance. One Gage, formerly a prieſt, coming over from the Weſt-Indies, informed him how weak and how wealthy the Spaniards were there; which made him conclude, that it would be both a great and an eaſy conqueſt to ſeize their dominions. And this he thought would ſupply him with ſuch a treaſure, as would thoroughly eſtabliſh his government.

It has been a queſtion much diſputed, whether Cromwell, in joining with France againſt Spain, did really act conſiſtently with the true intereſt of his country? Moſt people have maintained the negative; but I think with very little reaſon. The condition of France, at that time, was far different from what we have ſeen it in our days. The king was a minor, and the royal family divided among themſelves, which had reduced the conſtitution to a languiſhing ſtate. Whereas the houſe of Auſtria was then united and powerful; and the king of Spain, in particular, was poſſeſſed of the Netherlands, juſt in our neighbourhood, which rendered him formidable, and made it the intereſt of England to ſupport France againſt him. Cromwell then, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, might have, and I believe had, more general and national views in this alliance, than have hitherto been aſcribed to him.

§. 4. But to put this matter beyond all diſpute, and to ſhew that the Spaniards before Cromwell's time were too much like what we have found them ſince, which

which made it next to impoſſible for a man of his ſpirit not to reſent their inſults and depredations on his countrymen, we need only read the manifeſto penned in Latin by the immortal Milton, and publiſhed by the protector while his fleet was in America, to ſhew "the juſtice of the cauſe of this commonwealth againſt the Spaniards." I ſhall ſet down a few paſſages of it, in order to recommend the peruſal of the whole, a tranſlation of which was lately printed *.

After ſetting forth the ſtate of affairs for many years between the two kingdoms, and ſhewing how much the two late kings, James and Charles I, had ſuffered themſelves and their ſubjects to be inſulted by the Spaniards, it proceeds: "But as to the diſputes that have ariſen in the Weſt-Indies, though we, both in the continent itſelf, and in the iſlands, have plantations as well as they; and have as good, nay a better right to poſſeſs them, than the Spaniards have to poſſeſs theirs; and though we have a right to trade in thoſe ſeas, equally good with theirs; yet, without any reaſon, or any damage ſuſtained, and that when there was not the leaſt diſpute about commerce, they have been continually invading our colonies in a hoſtile way, killing our men, taking our ſhips, robbing us of our goods, laying waſte our houſes and fields, impriſoning and enſlaving our people: this they have been doing all along till theſe preſent times, wherein we have of late engaged in an expedition againſt them. For which reaſon, contrary to what uſed to be done formerly in the like caſe, they have detained our ſhips and merchants, and confiſcated their goods almoſt every where through the Spaniſh dominions: ſo that whether we turn our eyes to America or Europe, they alone are undoubtedly to be conſidered as the authors of the war."

It then ſets forth the barbarous treatment of many of our merchants and ſailors, giving a long liſt of particular inſtances; and goes on thus. "By theſe, and

* For A. Millar in the Strand.

and many more examples of the ſame kind, too long to be reckoned up, 'tis abundantly evident, that the king of Spain and his ſubjects think they are no way bound, by any condition of peace to be performed to us on their part, in theſe places; ſince they have habitually exerciſed all ſorts of hoſtilities againſt us, nay have even done ſuch things as are more unſuitable, and more grievous than open acts of hoſtility; and ſince that cruelty with which they uſually treat the Engliſh in America, is ſo contrary to the articles of peace, that it does not ſo much as ſeem ſuitable to the laws of the moſt bloody war.—

'But the king of Spain ſeems to be convinced, that the ſacred bonds of friendſhip have been firſt broken on his ſide: which thing is ſo clear and manifeſt, that our adverſaries in the controverſy are aſhamed to deny the fact, and chuſe rather to diſpute with us concerning the right of poſſeſſion.—They pretend to have a double title, one founded upon the pope's gift, and another upon their having firſt diſcovered thoſe places. As to the firſt, we know the pope has always been very liberal in his gifts of kingdoms and countries; but in the mean time we cannot but think, that in ſo doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whoſe vicar he profeſſes himſelf, who would not ſo much as allow himſelf to be appointed a judge in the dividing of inheritances.—But we deny his being veſted with any ſuch authority, nor do we think there is any nation ſo void of underſtanding, as to think that ſo great power is lodged in him; or that the Spaniards would believe this, or acquieſce in it, if he ſhould require them to yield up as much as he has beſtowed.—

Nor is the other title of any greater weight; as if the Spaniards, in conſequence of their having firſt diſcovered ſome few parts of America, and given names to ſome iſlands, rivers, and promontories, had for this reaſon lawfully acquired the government and dominion of that new world. But ſuch an imaginary title, founded on ſuch a ſilly pretence, without being

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ing in poſſeſſion, cannot poſſibly create any true and lawful right. The beſt right of poſſeſſion in America, is that which is founded on one's having planted colonies there, and ſettled in ſuch places as had either no inhabitants, or by the conſent of the inhabitants, if there were any; or at leaſt in ſome of the wild and uncultivated parts of the country, which they were not numerous enough to repleniſh and improve.

If this be true, as the Spaniards will be found to hold their poſſeſſions there very unjuſtly, having obtained all of them againſt the will of the inhabitants, and, as it were, plucked them out of their very bowels; having laid the foundation of their empire in that place in the blood of the poor natives, and rendered ſeveral large iſlands and countries, that were in a tolerable caſe when they found them, ſo many barren deſarts, and rooted out all the inhabitants there: ſo the Engliſh hold their poſſeſſions there by the beſt right imaginable, eſpecially thoſe iſlands where the Spaniards have fallen upon their colonies, and quite demoliſhed them; which iſlands had no other inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all ſlain by the Spaniards, who had likewiſe deſerted theſe places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them.—Although granting we had beat the Spaniards out of thoſe places where we have planted our colonies, out of which they had firſt expelled the inhabitants, we ſhould have poſſeſs'd them with better right, as the avengers of the murder of that people, and of the injuries ſuſtained by them, than the Spaniards, their oppreſſors and murderers.—

All theſe things being conſidered, we hope the time will come, when all, but eſpecially true Engliſhmen, will lay aſide their private animoſities among themſelves, and renounce their own proper advantages, rather than through an exceſſive deſire of that ſmall profit to be made by trading with Spain, which cannot be obtained but upon ſuch conditions as are diſhonourable, and in ſome ſort unlawful; and which may likewiſe be got ſome other way; to expoſe, as they

now

now do, the ſouls of many young traders, by thoſe terms upon which they now live and trade there; and ſuffer the lives and fortunes of many chriſtian brethren in America, and, in fine, the honour of this whole nation, to be expoſed."——

§. 5. Having thus declared the reaſons of his proceedings, the protector, in order to make the beſt of Gage's information, fitted out a fleet, with a force ſufficient, as he thought, to ſeize Hiſpaniola and Cuba. When the time of ſetting out this fleet came on, all men wondered whither it ſhould be deſigned. Some imagined it was to rob the church of Loretto; and this apprehenſion occaſioned a fortification to be drawn round it: others talk'd of Rome itſelf; for the protector's preachers often gave out, "that if it were not for the diviſions at home, he would go and ſack Babylon." Others thought the deſign was againſt Cadiz, though he had not yet broke with Spain. The French knew nothing of the ſecret, and the protector, not having finiſhed his alliance with them, was not obliged to impart to them the reaſon of his preparations. All he ſaid about it was this, "that he ſent out the fleet, to guard the ſeas, and to reſtore England to its dominion on that element."

This fleet, conſiſting of about thirty men of war, under the command of vice-admiral Penn, with about four thouſand land ſoldiers to be commanded by Venables, ſet ſail the beginning of this year, directly for Barbadoes, where the two commanders were ordered to break open their commiſſions. Being ſafely arrived there, and new men taken in to increaſe the land army, they ſailed to the iſland of Hiſpaniola. Venables landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had received from the protector, and marched them through ſuch thick woods and uneaſy paſſages, that the Spaniards, with a very unequal number, beat them back; and they were ſoon forced to re-embark. To make ſome amends for this miſcarriage, they made another deſcent on the iſland of Jamaica, and obtained

tained an eaſy poſſeſſion of it; which iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh: where leaving a good body of foot to ſecure it, they ſailed back to England. The protector was never ſo much diſturbed as at this diſaſter at Hiſpaniola; ſo that Penn and Venables were no ſooner come on ſhore, but he committed them both to the Tower, and could never be prevailed on to truſt either of them again *.

§. 6.

* One of our political weekly writers, in a letter upon the fitneſs of a late deſign that unfortunately miſcarried, has ſome paragraphs relating to this expedition that are very much to the protector's advantage, and therefore ought not to be here omitted.

"Theſe thoughts on the fitneſs of the deſign, ſays the letter-writer, may, I think, be well ſupported, by obſerving the councils and deſign of Cromwell, in his expedition to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; of which I the rather chuſe to ſpeak, becauſe that matter is generally miſconceived, and it is miſrepreſented by our noble hiſtorian lord Clarendon.—But Mr. Burchett, in his naval hiſtory, hath given us a copy of Cromwell's inſtructions to Venables, which is ſuperior to all other teſtimony. Lord Clarendon ſays, that their orders were very particular, and very poſitive, that they ſhould land at ſuch a place at Hiſpaniola, which was deſcribed to them. Whereas their orders were at large and general; viz. to purſue ſuch methods as they found proper for the general deſign of gaining an intereſt in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and therefore the inſtructions ſay, "We ſhall not tie you up to a method, by any particular inſtructions, but only communicate to you what hath been under our conſideration."

It appears plainly from theſe inſtructions, that his aim was not ſo piddling as to take St. Domingo, with the iſland of Hiſpaniola. Even taking the Havanna with the iſland of Cuba, though it was within the compaſs of his inſtructions, yet he conſider'd it only as

§. 6. About the time that Penn and Venables ſet out on this expedition, admiral Blake ſailed with another fleet into the Mediterranean, to ſcour thoſe ſeas of the Turkiſh pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely reſolved to ſeek them out in their ports.

as part of the outworks to his greater deſign; for the treaſures are upon the continent, not in the iſlands. The latter are of uſe as ſteps, or ſecurities to the former. He therefore meant a rich ſettlement on the continent; had his eye particularly on Cartagena, which he intended for the chief ſeat of the Britiſh empire in that part of the world; and which would give a final deciſion to all diſputes, and prevent all further diſturbances from Spain.

And immediately upon the news of having taken Jamaica, he loſt no time, ſays lord Clarendon, but ſent preſently a good ſquadron of ſhips, and a recruit of fifteen hundred men, reſolving to make continual war on the Spaniards from that place.—

Theſe inſtructions of Cromwell's were general, as hath been ſaid, to make a conqueſt as they found themſelves able; and the intent was that it ſhould be a holding one. To that end there are two or three methods communicated to the commander in chief, which had been before under the conſideration of the council. They are ſo curious, and ſo much to our preſent purpoſe, that it will not be unacceptable, I believe, to tranſcribe a part of them.

"The firſt method is to land on ſome of the iſlands, particularly Hiſpaniola and St. John's [i. e. Porto Rico] one or both; which being poſſeſs'd and brought under obedience, from thence you may ſend force for the taking of the Havanna, which is the back door to the Weſt-Indies. The taking of the Havanna is ſo conſiderable, that we have had thoughts of beginning the firſt attempt upon that fort and the iſland of Cuba; and do ſtill judge it worthy of conſideration.

Another

ports. He came firſt before Algiers, and ſending to the dey, demanded that all the Engliſh ſhips might be reſtored, and all the Engliſh ſlaves releaſed. The dey hereupon ſent a preſent to Blake, and gave him to underſtand, "that the ſhips and captives already taken belong'd to private men, therefore not ſo much in

Another way is for the preſent to leave the iſlands, and to make the firſt attempt on the main land, in one or more places, between the river Oroonoque and Porto-Bello, aiming therein chiefly at Cartagena, which we would make the ſeat of the intended deſign; wherein if you have ſucceſs, you will probably be maſters of all the Spaniſh treaſure, which comes from Peru, by way of Panama in the South-ſea to Porto-Bello in the North-ſea. You will have houſes ready built, a country ready planted, and moſt of the people Indians who will ſubmit to you.

There is a third conſideration, relating both to the iſlands and the main, which is to make the firſt attempt upon St. Domingo, or Porto-Rico, one or both, and having ſecured them, to go immediately to Cartagena."

Now it will be obſerved that theſe deſigns were form'd, and the fleet and forces ſent, not a year after the war was proclaimed, but in the year before; he eſteeming that the war was begun by them, when they began to practiſe ſome depredations on the Engliſh, though not to be named with what hath ſince been done. Moreover it will be obſerved that the deſign was ſecret; not ſo ſecret indeed, as to end in nothing, and leave ſuſpicion that no greater matter was ever intended; but ſo as to be concealed from the enemy; not altogether from any ſuſpicion; for that muſt be impoſſible; but from any certain aſſurance; which was ſo far done that the Spaniſh ambaſſador did not believe it, till fraternities were entered into on the Exchange in London for carrying on plantations at Jamaica. See Craftſman of June 27, 1741.

in his power; but yet they ſhould be reſtored at a moderate ranſom; and if the admiral thought good, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the Engliſh ſhips and natives."

A peace being accordingly concluded, Blake ſailed from thence to Tunis, where, having made the ſame demand as at Algiers, inſtead of the like ſubmiſſion, he received this reſolute anſwer, "that there were their caſtles of Goletta, and their ſhips and caſtles of Porto-Ferino; he might do his worſt, for he ſhould not think to fright them with the ſight of his fleet." Provoked at this anſwer, Blake reſolved to deſtroy their ſhips in Porto-Ferino. Accordingly he ordered his captains to man their long-boats with ſtout ſeamen, and ſent them into the harbour to fire thoſe ſhips, whilſt the admiral with all his fleet thundered moſt furiouſly againſt their caſtles. The ſeamen ſo bravely performed their parts, that all the Turkiſh ſhips of war were ſoon reduced to aſhes, with the loſs of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the Engliſh ſide. Theſe were actions of the higheſt conduct and courage, which made the Engliſh name very formidable in thoſe ſeas.

There was another reaſon of Blake's ſailing into the Mediterranean; which was, to demand ſatisfaction of all princes and ſtates, that had moleſted the Engliſh in the time of confuſion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he ſailed to Leghorn, and diſpatched his ſecretary to demand of the great duke of Tuſcany 60,000 l. for damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh in his dutchy; prince Rupert having taken and ſold as many Engliſh ſhips, as amounted to that value, to the great duke's ſubjects. The duke was willing to pay part of the ſum, and deſired time to conſult the pope about the reſt. Blake ſaid, the pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole ſum; which was paid him. The duke pretended that the pope ought to pay part of the damage, ſome of the ſhips having been ſold to his ſubjects; accordingly

accordingly the next ſucceeding pope repaid 20,000 piſtoles. Admiral Blake ſent home ſixteen ſhips laden with the effects he had received from ſeveral ſtates, for ſatisfaction and damages; and they were ordered to ſail up the Thames together, for a pleaſant ſpectacle to the people.

§. 7. The king of Spain, provoked at the late attempt upon the Weſt-Indies, declared war againſt England; and the protector diſpatched orders to admiral Blake, to watch the return of the Spaniſh plate-fleet, and make what deſtruction he could upon the coaſts of Spain; and thought fit now to finiſh his alliance with France, ſending Lockhart his ambaſſador thither for that end. His highneſs undertook to ſend over an army of ſix thouſand foot; and when the forts of Dunkirk and Mardyke ſhould be taken, they were to be put into his hands.

Admiral Blake, and Montague afterwards earl of Sandwich, having blocked up the port of Cadiz for ſome weeks, without being able to bring the Spaniards to a fight, were obliged to ſail to Wyers-bay in Portugal, to take in ſupplies. They left behind them captain Stayner, with only ſeven ſhips; who, while the commanders were retired, perceived the Spaniſh plate-fleet making directly to Cadiz. Notwithſtanding the ſmall force he had with him; Stayner reſolved to fall on the Spaniards; which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a few hours the whole fleet was ſpoiled. One ſhip was ſunk; another burnt, in which the viceroy of Mexico, with his lady, periſhed in the flames: two were forced on ground; one got off, and two remained in the conqueror's hands; which being brought to Portſmouth, the bullion, to the value of two millions, was there landed, and conveyed in carts to London, as a trophy of this great victory *.

§. 8.

* See (in the appendix, No. II. of the poems) Mr. Waller's beautiful poem on this victory, entitled, Of a war with Spain, and fight at Sea by general Montague.

§. 8. Blake being returned to Cadiz, and having there rode out the winter of 1657, he received intelligence, that another Spaniſh plate-fleet, much richer than the former, was coming home; but, for fear of the Engliſh fleet, had put into the bay of Santa-Cruz in the Canaries. Upon this Blake weighed anchor April the 13th, and by the 20th ſtood off of the ſaid bay; where he accordingly found the galleons arriv'd, to the number of ſixteen men of war. The bay was ſecured by a ſtrong caſtle well furniſhed with ordnance, beſides ſeven forts more in ſeveral parts of it mounted with ſix, four, and three guns apiece, and united by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was mann'd with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, cauſed all his ſmaller ſhips to moor cloſe to the ſhore, covered by the caſtles and forts, and poſted the ſix large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadſides to the ſea. A Dutch merchant-man was at this time in the bay, the maſter whereof perceiving the Engliſh were ready to enter, deſir'd Don Diego's leave to depart: "For, ſaid he, I am very ſure Blake will preſently be among us." To which the Don reſolutely anſwered, "Get you gone if you will, and let Blake come if he dares."

Blake having called a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, reſolved to burn them all: to which end he ordered captain Stayner, with a ſquadron, to ſtand into the very bay: who by eight the next morning fell furiouſly on the Spaniards, without the leaſt regard to their forts, and fought them almoſt an hour. The admiral ſeconding him, poſted ſome of the larger ſhips to cannonade the caſtle and forts; which play'd their parts ſo well, that the enemy was forced to leave them. Blake for the ſpace of four hours engaged the galleons, which made a brave reſiſtance, but were at laſt abandon'd by the enemy: as were likewiſe the ſmaller veſſels, which lay under the forts; which were burnt by Stayner, whilſt Blake did the ſame by the large galleons: ſo

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that this whole plate-fleet, of ineſtimable value, was utterly deſtroyed, without the loſs of one English ſhip, and with no more than forty-eight men killed, and an hundred and twenty wounded. The news of this brave and unparallel'd action being brought to England, the parliament ordered a day of thanksgiving for this great ſucceſs; and the protector, at their desire, ſent the admiral a diamond ring of 500 l. value, and knighted Stayner at his return to England.

§. 9. Blake, after this noble exploit, ſailed back to Spain, whence, after having long kept all their ports in awe, he returned for England. But falling ſick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, juſt as the fleet was entering into Plymouth Sound; where he paſſionately enquired for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour. He had a publick funeral juſtly beſtowed upon him, and the honour of being interred in Henry the ſeventh's chapel. The lord Clarendon ſays, "He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt, that the naval ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhips and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection; as if the principal art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip, had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and tho' he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and

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bold and reſolute atchievements." A very proper ſervant this to ſuch a maſter as Cromwell!

Blake had a very great regard to the honour of his country, and the Engliſh dominion of the ſeas. One inſtance of his care to preſerve this honour, mentioned by biſhop Burnet, I cannot omit. He ſays, that Blake happening to be at Malaga with the fleet, before Cromwell made war upon Spain, ſome of the ſeamen going aſhore, met the hoſt, as it was carrying about, and not only refuſed to pay any honour to it, but laugh'd at thoſe that did. Whereupon one of the prieſts ſtirr'd up the people to reſent this affront; and ſo they fell upon them, and beat them ſeverely. The ſeamen returning to their ſhip, and complaining of the uſage they had met with, Blake immediately diſpatched a trumpeter to the viceroy, to demand the prieſt who had been the chief occaſion of it; to which the viceroy returned this anſwer, "that he had no authority over the prieſt, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him." But Blake ſent him word again, "that he would not enquire who had power to ſend the prieſt to him; but if he were not ſent within three hours, he would burn their town. And ſo being unable to reſiſt, they ſent the prieſt to him; who juſtifying himſelf upon the rude behaviour of the ſeamen, Blake anſwered, "that if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place; but he took it ill, that he ſet on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman." And ſo he civilly treated the prieſt, and diſmiſſed him, being ſatisfied that he had him at his mercy. Cromwell was exceedingly pleaſed with this, and read the letters in council with great ſatisfaction, telling them, "he hoped he ſhould make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been."

§. 10.

§. 10. While I am ſpeaking of the protector's great care to aſſert and maintain the ſovereignty of the ſea, and the honour of the Engliſh nation, a paſſage occurs from a printed ſpeech made in the houſe of commons, by Mr. Poultney, in a debate on the complaints of the Weſt-India merchants, two ſeſſions before the preſent war againſt Spain was declared. It contains perhaps as remarkable a ſtory as is any where to be met with, and the reflections on it are equally honourable to Cromwell, and worthy of the gentleman that made them, who was neither afraid nor aſhamed to introduce the conduct of one we call an uſurper, as a pattern to legal kings, and modern miniſters.

"We have been negociating and treating with Spain for theſe twenty years, ſays this great patriot, about nothing that I know of, unleſs it was about reparation and ſecurity for our merchants; and yet, during that whole time, they have been plundering and abuſing our merchants, almoſt without intermiſſion. If a nation's being ſubject to daily inſults and injuries is not a circumſtance, that ought to make it peremptory in its demands, I am ſure no circumſtance can. This has been our caſe for many years, and will be our caſe, till Spain be made to acknowledge, in the moſt expreſs and particular terms, every one of thoſe rights they now pretend to diſpute. Ought not this to make us peremptory in our demands? Ought not it to have made us peremptory long ago? If we had peremptorily inſiſted upon full ſatisfaction and reparation, for the very firſt injury that was offered us, I may venture to affirm, we ſhould never have been expoſed to a ſecond. Nay, if we conſider that our inſults and injuries were inflicted without any ceremony, we ought to have uſed as little ceremony in the revenging them; and to have taken ſatisfaction, without being at any great pains to demand it. But, I hope, that is not even yet too late.

This was what Oliver Cromwell did in a like caſe, that happened during his government, and in a caſe where a more powerful nation was concerned than

ever

ever S[illegible]uld pretend to be. In the hiſtories of his tim[illegible]re told, that an Engliſh merchant-ſhip was tak[illegible]in the chops of the channel, carried into St. Maloes, and there confiſcated upon ſome groundleſs pretence. As ſoon as the maſter of the ſhip, who was an honeſt quaker, got home, he preſented a petition to the protector in council, ſetting forth his caſe, and praying for redreſs. Upon hearing the petition, the protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himſelf, and ordered the man to attend him next morning. He examined him ſtrictly as to all the circumſtances of his caſe, and finding by his anſwers that he was a plain honeſt man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful trade, he aſked him, If he would go to Paris with a letter? The man anſwered, he could. Well then, ſays the protector, prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning. Next morning he gave him a letter to cardinal Mazarine, and told him he muſt ſtay but three days for an anſwer. The anſwer I mean, ſays he, is, the full value of what you might have made of your ſhip and cargo; and tell the cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have expreſs orders from me to return home. The honeſt, blunt quaker, we may ſuppoſe, followed his inſtructions to a tittle; but the cardinal, according to the manner of miniſters when they are any way preſſed, began to ſhuffle: therefore the quaker returned, as he was bid. As ſoon as the protector ſaw him, he aſked, "Well, friend, have you got your money?" And upon the man's anſwering he had not, the protector told him, "Then leave your direction with my ſecretary, and you ſhall ſoon hear from me." Upon this occaſion, that great man did not ſtay to negociate, or to explain, by long tedious memorials, the reaſonableneſs of his demand. No; tho' there was a French miniſter reſiding here, he did not ſo much as acquaint him with the ſtory, but immediately ſent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to ſeize every French ſhip they could meet with. Accordingly,

cordingly, they returned in a few d[redacted]h two or three French prizes, which the prote[redacted]rdered to be immediately ſold, and out of the pr[redacted]ce, he paid the quaker what he demanded for the ſhip and cargo. Then he ſent for the French miniſter, gave him an account of what had happened, and told him there was a balance, which, if he pleaſed, ſhould be paid in to him, to the end that he might deliver it to thoſe of his countrymen, who were the owners of the French ſhips, that had been ſo taken and ſold.

This was Oliver Cromwell's manner of negociating; this was the method he took for obtaining reparation. And what was the conſequence? it produced no war between the two nations. No; it made the French government terribly afraid of giving him the leaſt offence; and while he lived, they took ſpecial care that no injury ſhould be done to any ſubjects of Great Britain. This ſhews, that Oliver Cromwell had a genius and a capacity for government; and however unjuſtly he acquired his power, it is certain that this nation was as much reſpected abroad, and flouriſhed as much at home, under his government, as it ever did under any government. But when a nation has the misfortune to have a man ſet at the head of her affairs, who knows nothing of foreign, who knows nothing but the little low detail of offices, and has neither capacity or knowledge beyond what can qualify him for being clerk in the treaſury, or ſome other publick office, it is then no wonder to ſee that nation deſpiſed and inſulted abroad, and diſſatisfied, mutinous, and ſeditious at home.

I wiſh thoſe who have now the direction of our negociations abroad, would aſſume, if poſſible, a little of the ſpirit and courage of Oliver Cromwell. He had as powerful a party to ſtruggle with at home, as ever any miniſter had; but he never allowed the danger he was in from that party, to deter him from vindicating, upon all occaſions, the honour and intereſt

tereſt c[illegible]ountry abroad. He had too much good ſenſe to [illegible]nage in ſuch a puſillanimous manner; for he knew that ſuch management would have increaſed the party againſt him, and would have made them more daring, as well as more numerous. If our preſent negociators, or thoſe who have the direction of our negociations, take example by him, I am ſure they will not accept of any general acknowledgments for promiſes."

§. 11. To proceed: As victory crown'd the protector's arms by ſea, ſo his forces by land were not unſucceſsful. The 6000 men which his highneſs was obliged by his treaty with France to provide, being tranſported under the command of Sir John Reynolds, and major-general Morgan, the French had no inclination to begin upon Mardyke or Dunkirk, which when taken, were to be put into Cromwell's hands; but marched to other places, which they were to conquer for their own uſe. But his highneſs's ambaſſador Lockhart made ſuch repeated repreſentations to the cardinal, not without ſome menaces, "that his Maſter knew where to find a more punctual friend," that as ſoon as they had taken Montmedy and St. Venant, the army inveſted Mardyke. The French and Engliſh had not lain before this ſtrong place above four days, when it was reduced to a ſurrender upon compoſition, and delivered up wholly in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. But preſently after, the French being withdrawn into their winter-quarters, the Spaniards, who were ſenſible of what great importance this place was to the preſerving of Dunkirk, detached a body of horſe and foot to retake it. Among theſe were 2000 Engliſh and Iriſh, commanded by the Duke of York; and they made two very furious ſtorms upon the fort; but were ſtoutly repulſed, and forced to fly, with the loſs of ſeveral brave Commanders.

Marſhal Turenne commanded the army that took Mardyke; to whom cardinal Mazarine wrote thus,

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at Lockhart's inſtance, before the ſiege [illegible] nothing can be of more fatal conſequence to F[illegible]e, than the loſs of Cromwell's friendſhip and the breach of the union with him; which certainly will be broken, if ſome ſtrong town is not taken and put into his hands." This conqueſt was very grateful to Cromwell, who immediately ſent ten men of war to guard the port of Mardyke, and cruize on that coaſt. A foreign writer, ſpeaking of this matter, ſays, "Nothing could flatter the ambition of Cromwell more than this acquiſition, knowing that he had thereby won immortal glory: he had, without the loſs of a man, accompliſhed a deſign, which the greateſt kings of England had often attempted in vain, at the expence of their people's blood and treaſure: he had re-eſtabliſhed the Engliſh on the continent, and put them in a condition to make themſelves maſters of both ſides of the channel, which had been deſpaired of ſince the loſs of Calais.

§. 12. Not long after the taking of Mardyke, an attempt was made upon Oſtend, but without ſucceſs: for ſome of the garriſon having contracted with Mazarine to deliver it up, it appeared that this was only a feint, carried on with the privity of the governor, who defended himſelf bravely when the beſiegers appeared, killing and taking 1500 French that were landed, and ſorely galling the Engliſh fleet from the forts. But this diſappointment had no very ill effect; for preſently after Dunkirk was inveſted by the French, aſſiſted by the 6000 valiant Engliſhmen, under the inſpection of Lockhart, the protector's ambaſſador, but more immediately under the command of major-general Morgan. Whilſt they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, they had intelligence brought them, that the Spaniſh general Don John of Auſtria, with the prince of Condé, the prince de Ligny, and the dukes of York and Glouceſter, were advancing with 30,000 men to relieve the place. Hereupon the French king and ca[illegible]

dinal were perſuaded to withdraw to Calais, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the firſt council, which was held without either Lockhart or Morgan, it was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, if the enemy came on. But in the next, when thoſe two were preſent, Morgan vehemently oppoſed that reſolution, alledging, "what a diſhonour it would be to the crown of France to have ſummoned a place, and broke ground before it, and then raiſe the ſiege and run away;" and deſiring the council to conſider, that if they raiſed the ſiege, the alliance with England would be broken the ſame hour. Upon which it was reſolved, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the ſiege. And the enemy coming on, a deſperate fight enſued, in which the Spaniards were in a manner totally routed by the Engliſh, before the French came in. At the end of the purſuit, marſhal Turenne, with above 100 officers, came up to the Engliſh, and embracing the officers, ſaid, "They never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives; and that they were ſo tranſported with the ſight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing.

The Spaniſh army being entirely vanquiſh'd, the confederates renewed their attempts upon the town of Dunkirk with great vigour and induſtry; and the marquiſs de Leda, the governor, being mortally wounded, as he was ſallying out upon the beſiegers, the Spaniards within deſired a preſent capitulation: which being granted, this important place was ſurrendered upon articles on the 25th of June 1658; when it was immediately delivered up into the hands of the Engliſh, by the French king and cardinal in perſon, purſuant to the treaty between them and the lord protector.

§. 13. Thus did Cromwell, in a very ſhort time, and with little expence either of men or money, render himſelf abſolute maſter of the Britiſh channel: but

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ſo contrary to his were the meaſures taken in the ſucceeding reign of king Charles II. that in the ſecond year of that licentious prince, one of whoſe chief ends in getting money was to oblige his miſtreſſes, Dunkirk was publickly ſold to the French: "which tranſaction, ſays biſhop Burnet, mightily impaired the king's credit abroad; and the damage we have ſuffered from it ſince, has made the bargain often reflected on with ſeverity at home." It was in fact this ſale, and the other ſteps taken in the ſame reign, that contributed more to the aggrandizing of the French, than any engagement that can be attributed to Cromwell. "It appeared, ſays another modern writer, when king Charles had ſold Dunkirk, which Cromwell kept as a ſecurity for England, and the French king had ſurpriſed many cities and provinces to a vaſt increaſe of empire, that a treaty with Spain was more preferable for the preſervation of the balance of power. But was it poſſible for any ſuch thing as the ſale of Dunkirk to enter into ſuch a head as Cromwell's? He would as ſoon have ſold Portſmouth. And had Dunkirk been ſtill kept in Engliſh hands, Cromwell's French treaty would never have been complained of."

Sir William Temple aſſures us farther, that cardinal Mazarine having ſurmounted his own dangers, and the difficulties incident to a minority, purſued the plan left him by his predeceſſor, and by the aſſiſtance of an immortal body of 6000 Engliſh, made ſuch a progreſs in Flanders, that Cromwell perceived the balance was turned, and grown too heavy on the French ſide: whereupon he diſpatched a gentleman privately to Madrid, to propoſe there a change of his treaty with France, into one with Spain; by which he would draw his forces over into their ſervice, and make them 10,000, upon condition their firſt action ſhould be to beſiege Calais, and when taken, to put it into his hands. The perſon ſent upon this errand was paſt the Pyrenees, when he was overtaken by the news of Cromwell's death. This was ſoon followed by

by a peace between the two crowns, called the peace of the Pyrenees." Thus we ſee that with whomſoever the protector ſided, his deſign was to aggrandize and ſtrengthen the Engliſh, and to keep the balance of power in his own hands.

§. 14. Though the protector lived but a very ſhort time after the taking of Dunkirk, yet he received greater marks of honour and eſteem from the French court, than were ſhewn to any crowned head in Europe. He ſent over the lord Falconbridge, his ſon-in-law, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue to Calais, where the king and cardinal then were; who received him as a ſovereign prince, the cardinal giving him his right-hand in his apartment, which had never been done to the imperial ambaſſador, nor even to the pope's nuncio. And when his lordſhip took his leave, both the king and his miniſter loaded him with rich preſents, ſome of which were for the protector, and others for himſelf. The compliment was returned to Cromwell by a very ſolemn embaſſy from France, which ſurpaſſed moſt appearances of the ſame kind. But the protector's death put an end to the further effects of this alliance.

This wonderful man, from the very beginning of his adminiſtration, was complimented and courted by moſt of the powers around him, who acknowledged his ſovereignty, and gave him the title of highneſs. All nations contended, as it were, by their ambaſſadors, who ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him. Denmark had the favour of being taken into the Dutch treaty, upon the good terms of making the ſtates reſponſible for 140,000 l. to repair the damage which the Engliſh had ſuffered from the Danes. About the ſame time, by the negociation of his ambaſſador Whitelock, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of Sweden. He forced Portugal to ſend an ambaſſador to beg peace, and to ſubmit to make ſatisfaction for the offence they had committed in receiving prince Rupert, by the payment of a great ſum of money.

Even France and Spain, in his earlieſt days, ſued for an alliance with him, and ſent over their miniſters for that purpoſe, whom he received with all the ſtate and ſolemnity of a ſovereign prince. He exaggerated nothing therefore in his ſpeech to his ſecond parliament, which he made in favour of his own government.

The truth is, his name became formidable everywhere. His favourite alliance was with Sweden; for Charles Guſtavus and he lived in great conjunction of councils. But the ſtates of Holland ſo dreaded him, that they took care to give him no manner of umbrage: inſomuch that when the king or his brother came at any time to viſit their ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange, a deputation of the ſtates was immediately with them, to let them know they could have no ſhelter there. All Italy in like manner trembled at his name, and ſeemed to be under a panick fear, as long as he lived. His fleets ſcoured the Mediterranean, and the Turks durſt not offend him, but delivered up Hyde, the king's ambaſſador there, who was brought over and executed for aſſuming that character.

The juſtice done by him on Don Pantaleon-ſa, a very eminent perſon, and brother to the Portugueſe Ambaſſador, was what mightily raiſed the reputation of his power. This man had been guilty of a murder, and taken ſanctuary in his brother's houſe, who inſiſted upon the privilege due to his character. But Cromwell obliged him to deliver up the criminal, who being tried by a jury of half Engliſh and half foreigners, was condemned to die; and accordingly was beheaded on Tower-Hill. And it is very remarkable, that on the day of this execution, the Portugal ambaſſador was obliged to ſign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately went out of town. And it is obſerved of this affair, to the honour of the protector, that whatever reaſon the houſe of Auſtria had to hate his memory, the emperor Leopold, near twenty years after Cromwell's death, brought it as a precedent to juſtify his carrying

carrying off the prince of Furſtemburg at the treaty of Cologne, notwithſtanding his being a plenipotentiary for the elector of that name. And in the printed manifeſto publiſhed by the emperor on that occaſion, this piece of Cromwell's juſtice is related at [redacted] *

Few princes, ſays Wellwood, ever bore their character higher upon all occaſions, than Oliver Cromwell, eſpecially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And it is a thing without example, that is mentioned by one of the beſt informed hiſtorians of the age, Pufendorf, in his life of the late elector of Brandenburgh; that in Cromwell's league with France and Spain, he would not allow the French king to call himſelf king of France, but of the French; whereas he took to himſelf not only the title of protector of England, but likewiſe of France. And which is yet more ſurpriſing, and hardly to be believed, but for the authority of the author, the protector's name was put before the French king's, in his inſtrument of the treaty.

§. 15. During his adminiſtration, there were two ſignal inſtances given him to ſhew his zeal in protecting the proteſtants, which advanced his character abroad.

* It was while Don Pantaleon ſa lay under ſentence of death, that the Latin panegyrick, a tranſlation of which is given in the appendix, was preſented to Cromwell, then lord-general only, in order to ſoften him in favour of that Portugueſe nobleman. This circumſtance very much heightens the idea of Cromwell's inflexibility, that it was proof againſt one of the moſt artful and fine pieces of flattery that perhaps ever was writ; and which was the more dangerous as it came from a foreigner, inveſted with a publick character, and at a time when every body was in doubt what ſyſtem of government the general intended to introduce.

abroad. The duke of Savoy raiſed a new perſecution of the Vaudois, maſſacring many, and driving the reſt from their habitations. Whereupon Cromwell ſent to the French court, demanding of them to oblige that duke, whom he knew to be in their power, to put a ſtop to his unjuſt fury, or otherwiſe he muſt break with them. The cardinal objected to this as unreaſonable: he would do good offices, he ſaid, but could not anſwer for the effects. However, nothing would ſatisfy the protector, till they oblig'd the duke to reſtore all that he had taken from his proteſtant ſubjects, and to renew their former privileges. Cromwell wrote on this occaſion to the duke himſelf, and by miſtake omitted the title of royal highneſs on his letter; upon which the major part of the council of Savoy were for returning it unopen'd; but one of them repreſenting, that Cromwell would not paſs by ſuch an affront, but would certainly lay Villa Franca in aſhes, and ſet the Swiſs cantons upon Savoy, the letter was read, and with the cardinal's influence had the deſired ſucceſs. The protector alſo raiſed money in England for the poor ſufferers, and ſent over an agent to ſettle all their affairs.

At another time there happened a tumult at Niſmes, wherein ſome diſorder had been committed by the Huguenots. They being apprehenſive of ſevere proceedings upon it, ſent one over, with great expedition and ſecrecy, to deſire Cromwell's interceſſion and protection. This expreſs found ſo good a reception, that he the ſame evening diſpatched a letter to the cardinal, with one incloſed to the king; alſo inſtructions to his ambaſſador Lockhart, requiring him either to prevail for a total impunity of that miſdemeanor, or immediately to come away. At Lockhart's application, the diſorder was overlooked; and, though the French court complained of this way of proceeding, as a little too imperious, yet the neceſſity of their affairs made them comply. This Lockhart, a wiſe and gallant man, who was governor of Dunkirk and ambaſſador at the ſame time, and in high favour with

with the protector, told bishop Burnet, "that when he was sent afterwards ambassador by king Charles, he found he had nothing of that regard that was paid to him in Cromwell's time." *

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* To these two pieces of history, we may add his letter to the prince of Tarente, as another instance of his regard for the protestant religion. It was written in Latin by Milton, and is thus translated:

"Oliver, protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. to the most illustrious prince of Tarente, greeting. It was a very great pleasure and satisfaction to me, to perceive by your highness's letter which you sent me, your love of religion, and your extraordinary zeal and concern for the reformed churches, especially considering that you live in a country where such great things are promised to all persons of your rank, if they forsake the orthodox faith, and so many discouragements are laid in the way of those who continue stedfast. Nor was it less pleasing to me, to find that your highness approved of my care and concern for the same religion, than which nothing ought to be more dear and precious to me. And I call God to witness, how desirous I am, according as I have ability and opportunity, to answer the hope and expectation which you say the churches have concerning me, and to manifest it to all. Indeed I should esteem it the best fruit of my labours, and of this dignity, or office, which I hold in this commonwealth, to be put into a capacity of being serviceable either to the enlargement or the safety, or, which is the chief of all, the peace of the reformed church. And I earnestly exhort your highness that you would hold fast to the end the orthodox religion, you have receiv'd from your Fathers, with a firmness and constancy of mind equal to the piety and zeal you discover in the profession of it. Nor indeed can there be any thing more worthy of yourself and of your

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There was yet a farther design, very advantageous to the protestant cause, wherewith Cromwell intended to have begun his kingship, had he taken it upon him; and that was, the instituting a council for the protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation de propaganda fide at Rome. This body was to consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces. The secretaries were to have 500 l. salary a-piece, to keep correspondence every-where. Ten thousand pounds a year was to be a fund for ordinary emergencies: farther supplies were to be provided, as occasions required; and Chelsea-College, then an old ruinous building, was to be fitted up for their reception. This was a great design, and worthy of the man who had formed it.

§. 16, The secret correspondence he kept up from his first appearance on the theatre of affairs, was what every one wondered at. When he was only deputy of Ireland, he stopped the lord Broghill in London, as he was going over to the king, to take out a commission against the parliament, and so wrought on him, that he went over in the parliament's service, and continued faithful to Cromwell ever after. And when he was mounted to the summit of authority, he brought over a company of Jews into England, and gave them toleration to build a synagogue; because he

most pious parents; and tho' I could desire all things for your sake, yet I can wish you nothing better, nothing more excellent in return for the civilities you have shewn me, than that you so conduct yourself, that the churches, especially those of your own country, in whose discipline you were born with so happy a disposition and of such a noble family, may find in you a protection answerable to the high station in which you are placed above others. Farewell. Whitehall, June 26, 1654. Your highness's most affectionate and most devoted,

OLIVER."

he knew, by reaſon of their negociation of money in all countries, that they were excellently fitted for the purpoſe of bringing him intelligence. It was by the information of one of thoſe, who came to him in a poor beggarly habit, that he intercepted a large ſum of money, which the Spaniards, who were then at war with him, were ſending over in a Dutch ſhip, to pay their army in Flanders. He alſo prevailed on Sir Richard Willis, chancellor Hyde's great confident, to let him know all that paſſed in king Charles's court; pretending, that his aim in diſcovering the plots of the royaliſts, for whom he had a great tenderneſs, was only to diſconcert them, that none of them might ſuffer for their raſhneſs. This practice of Sir Richard's was not diſcovered till after the protector's death, when he ſtill continued his correſpondence with Thurloe, whoſe under-ſecretary, Moreland, detected him to the king.

There could not be any conſiderable perſon in London, of the royal party, but Cromwell immediately knew of it. He once told lord Broghill, that there was a friend of his in town; and upon his aſking Who, ſaid, my lord Ormond; mentioning the day when he arrived, and the place where he now was. Broghill had leave from the protector to go to Ormond, and inform him of all this, that he might make his eſcape; which was done accordingly.

In matters of greateſt moment, the protector truſted none but his ſecretary Thurloe, and oftentimes not him. An inſtance of which Thurloe us'd to tell of himſelf; "that he was once commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain hour to Gray's Inn, and at ſuch a place deliver a bill of 20,000 l. payable to the bearer at Genoa, to a man he ſhould find walking in ſuch a habit and poſture as he deſcrib'd him, without ſpeaking one word." Which accordingly Thurloe did: and never knew, to his dying day, either the perſon or the occaſion.

At another time the protector coming late at night to Thurloe's office, and beginning to give him directions

rections about ſomething of great importance and ſecrecy, he took notice that Mr. Moreland, afterward Sir Samuel Moreland, was in the Room, which he had not obſerv'd before; and fearing he might have overheard their diſcourſe, tho' he pretended to be aſleep upon his deſk, he drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and was going to diſpatch Moreland upon the ſpot; if Thurloe had not with great intreaties prevailed with him to deſiſt, aſſuring him that Moreland had ſat up two nights together, and was now certainly faſt aſleep.

There was not the [illegible] accident that befel king Charles II. in his exile, but he knew it perfectly well; inſomuch that having given leave to an Engliſh nobleman to travel, upon condition he ſhould not ſee Charles Stuart; he aſked him, at his return, "If he had punctually obeyed his commands?" Which the other affirming he had; Cromwell reply'd, "It's true you did not ſee him; for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet in the dark, the candles being put out for that end." And withal told him all the particulars that paſſed in converſation betwixt the king and him at their meeting.

§. 17. That he had ſpies about king Charles, was not ſtrange: but his intelligence reached the moſt ſecret tranſactions of other princes, and when the matter was communicated to but very few: of which we have a notable inſtance in the buſineſs of Dunkirk. There was an article, as we have obſerved, in the treaty between France and the protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it ſhould immediately be delivered up to the Engliſh; and his ambaſſador Lockhart had orders to take poſſeſſion of it accordingly. When the French army, being joined by the Engliſh auxiliaries, was in its march to inveſt the town, Cromwell ſent one morning for the French ambaſſador to Whitehall, and upbraided him publickly for his maſter's deſigned breach of promiſe, in giving

ſecret

ſecret orders to the French general to keep poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the [illegible] between them. The ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to aſſure him, that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulled a paper out of his pocket, "Here, ſays he, is a copy of the cardinal's order: and I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an expreſs to let him know, that I am not to be impoſed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it ſhould be taken, tell him I'll come in perſon, and demand them at the gates of Paris." There were but four perſons ſaid to be privy to this order, the queen-mother, the cardinal, the marechal de Turenne, and a ſecretary, whoſe name, ſays Wellwood, it is not fit to mention. The cardinal for a long time blamed the queen, as ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd it out to ſome of her women; whereas it was found, after the ſecretary's death, that he had kept a ſecret correſpondence with Cromwell for ſeveral years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the copy of the order above-mentioned.

The meſſage had its effect; for Dunkirk was put into poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. And to palliate the matter, the duke and marechal Crequy was diſpatch'd into England, ambaſſador extraordinary, to compliment Cromwell, attended with a numerous and ſplendid train of perſons of quality; among whom was a prince of the blood, and Mancini, Mazarine's nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle, to the protector, full of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect; and aſſuring his highneſs, that "being within view of the Engliſh ſhore, nothing but the king's indiſpoſition (who lay then ill of the ſmall-pox at Calais) could have hinder'd him to come over to England, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt men that ever was; and whom, next to his maſter, his greateſt ambition was to ſerve.

ſerve. But being deprived of ſo great an happineſs, he had ſent the perſon that was neareſt to him in blood, to aſſure him of the profound veneration he had for his perſon, and how much he was reſolved, to the utmoſt of his power, to cultivate a perpetual amity and friendſhip betwixt his maſter and him." *

To

* Four years before this, viz. on the 29th of March 1654, the French ambaſſador, M. de Bourdeaux, had an audience of his highneſs in the banquetting-houſe, Whitehall, with the ſame ſtate and ceremony, as is wont to be uſed towards ſovereign princes; when he addreſſed himſelf thus to him.

"Your moſt ſerene highneſs has already received ſome principal aſſurances of the king my maſter, of his deſire to eſtabliſh a perfect correſpondency betwixt his dominions and England. His majeſty, this day, gives to your highneſs ſome publick demonſtration of the ſame; and his ſending his ambaſſador to your highneſs, does plainly ſhew that the eſteem which his majeſty makes of your highneſs, and the intereſt of his people, have more power in his councils than many conſiderations, that would be of great concernment to a prince leſs affected with the one and the other. This proceeding, grounded upon ſuch principles, and ſo different from what is only guided by ambition, renders the amity of the king my maſter as conſiderable for its firmneſs as it's utility; for which reaſon it is ſo eminently eſteemed and courted by all the greateſt princes and potentates of the earth. But his majeſty communicates none to any with ſo much joy and chearfulneſs as to thoſe whoſe virtuous acts and extraordinary merits render them more conſpicuouſly famous for the largeneſs of their dominions. His majeſty is ſenſible, that all thoſe advantages do wholly reſide in your highneſs; and that the divine providence, after

to

To conclude; it appears from numberleſs inſtances, that as no man practiſed the arts of government with more policy than Cromwell, ſo he became more formidable, both at home and abroad, than moſt princes that had ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne. It was ſaid, that cardinal Mazarine would change countenance whenever he heard him named; ſo that it paſſed into a proverb in France, "that he was not ſo much afraid of the devil, as of Oliver Cromwell." And this authority Cromwell kept up till the laſt: for after a long chain of ſucceſſes, he died in the peaceful poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, tho' diſguiſed under another name; but left it to a ſon that little reſembled him, one that had neither heart nor abilities to keep it. The protector was buried among our kings, * with a royal pomp, and his death

ſo many calamities, could not deal more favourably with theſe three nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt miſeries with greater ſatisfaction, than by ſubmitting themſelves to ſo juſt a government. And ſince it is not ſufficient for the compleating of their happineſs, to make them enjoy peace at home, becauſe it depends no leſs on good correſpondency with nations abroad; the king my maſter does not doubt but to find alſo the ſame diſpoſition in your highneſs, which his majeſty here expreſſes in his letters. After ſo many diſpoſitions expreſſed both by his majeſty and your highneſs, towards the accommodation of the two nations, there is reaſon to believe, that their wiſhes will be ſoon accompliſhed. As for me, I have none greater, than to be able to ſerve the king my maſter, with the good pleaſure and ſatisfaction of your highneſs; and that the happineſs I have, to tender to your highneſs the firſt aſſurances of his majeſty's eſteem, may give me occaſion, by my ſervices, to merit the honour of your gracious affection."

* The author of the compleat hiſtory of England obſerves,

death condoled by the greateſt princes and ſtates in Chriſtendom, in ſolemn embaſſies to his ſon. It h[as] been obſerved, that as the ides of March were eq[ual] for-

obſerves, in his notes, that it remains a queſtion, where his body was really buried. "It was, ſays he, in appearance in Weſtminſter Abbey. Some report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the Thames. But it is moſt probable that it was buried in Naſeby Field. This account, continues he, is given, as aver'd, and ready to be depoſed, if occaſion required, by Mr. Barkſtead, ſon to Barkſtead the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of Cromwell's death: "That the ſaid Barkſtead his father, being lieutenant of the Tower, and a great confident of Cromwell's, did, among other ſuch confidents, in the time of his illneſs, deſire to know where he would be buried: To which the protector anſwer'd, "Where he had obtained the greateſt victory and glory, and as nigh the ſpot as could be gueſs'd where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naſeby, Com' Northampton." Which accordingly was thus performed. At midnight, ſoon after his death, the body (being firſt imbalm'd and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a hearſe conveyed to the ſaid field, Mr. Barkſtead himſelf attending, by order of his father, cloſe to the hearſe. Being come to the field, they found, about the midſt of it, a grave dug about nine feet deep, with the green-ſod carefully laid on one ſide, and the mould on the other; in which the coffin being put, the grave was inſtantly filled up, and the green-ſod laid exactly flat upon it; care being taken that the ſurplus mould ſhould be clean removed. Soon after the like care was taken that the field ſhould be entirely ploughed up, and it was ſown three or four years ſucceſſively with corn." Several other material circumſtances, ſays the fore-mentioned author, the ſaid Mr. Barkſtead, (who now frequents Richard's coffee-

houſe

fortunate and fatal to Julius Cæsar, so was the third of September to Cromwell: for on that day he won two great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, 1650 and 1651, and on that day 1658, he died.

house within Temple-bar) relates, too long to be here inserted.

As to the story of his body being sunk in the Thames, it was related by a gentlewoman who attended Oliver in his last sickness, as we are told by the author of the history of England during the reigns of the royal house of Stuart. She told him, "that the day after the protector's death, it was consulted how to dispose of his corpse; when it was concluded, that, considering the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain they would insult the body of their most dreadful enemy, if ever it should be in their power; to prevent which, it was resolv'd to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and sink it in the deepest part of the Thames; which was undertaken and performed by two of his near relations, and some trusty soldiers, the following night." So that, upon the whole, it remains a doubt whether his body was really carried in that pompous funeral procession to Westminster-Abbey.

## CHAP. IX.

### CROMWELL's *character, with a parallel between him and king* CHARLES I.

§. 1. THO' every reader will be able, from what has been said in the preceding chapters, to form to himself an idea of the great man who is the subject of them; yet, as I apprehend

hend it will be expected from me, that I ſhould ſum up the contents of all that as been related, and, with the aſſiſtance of what has been written on the head by others, deduce from them a ſort of ſketch or picture; I ſhall here attempt that moſt difficult part of my whole work. And ſince it has been cuſtomary, in order to raiſe our veneration for the royal ſufferer, to oppoſe the character of king Charles I. to that of Cromwell, I ſhall take the liberty of comparing them, paragraph by paragraph, in ſuch particulars as will admit of compariſon.

Cromwell, as to his perſon, had a manly ſtern look, and was of an active healthful conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt toil and fatigue. In ſchool acquirements the king ſeems to have been his ſuperior; and no wonder, ſince he was not only born the ſon of a monarch, but ſuch a monarch as piqued himſelf more upon his great learning than on his good government. However, if king Charles ſpoke ſeveral languages with a good grace, and had a more than ordinary ſkill in the liberal ſciences: it is alſo certain that Cromwell had knowledge of the Latin and French tongues, and could both ſpeak and write them; that he was very well read in Greek and Roman hiſtory, and not only reſpected, but patronized men of genius and wit, whom he would even take pains to find out. And the ſame writer, * who tells us that king Charles writ a tolerable hand for a king, but that his ſenſe was ſtrong, and his ſtile laconick; aſſures us likewiſe, that Cromwell writ a tolerable good hand, † and a ſtile becoming a gentleman.

§. 2.

* Wellwood.

† In Mr. Peck's memoirs of Cromwell's life, may be ſeen a ſpecimen of his hand writing, engraved from a ſignature of his name to a writ of ſummons, dated June 6, 1653. Vide title to the tranſlation of the ſecond panegyrick.

§. 2. Cromwell's natural abilities muſt always have been very great; tho' at firſt he diſcovered none of thoſe extraordinary talents that uſe to gain applauſe, and work upon the affections of the hearers and ſtanders by.* His parts ſeemed to be raiſed as he grew into place and authority, as if he had faculties that lay concealed, till he had occaſion to uſe them. When he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithſtanding his want of cuſtom. Tho' his ſpeeches were for the moſt part ambiguous, eſpecially in publick meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his meaning than told it himſelf; yet at other times he ſufficiently ſhewed he could command his ſtile as there was occaſion, and would deliver himſelf with ſuch energy and ſtrength of expreſſion, that it was commonly ſaid, every word he ſpoke was a thing. In this part of his character king Charles was no way his ſuperior; for tho' his majeſty ſpoke with a good grace, yet when he grew warm

* Sir Philip Warwick, his cotemporary, deſcribes Cromwell's firſt appearance in parliament in the following manner. "A gentleman, ſays he, ſpeaking very ordinarily; apparelled in a plain cloth ſuit, made by an ill country taylor: his linnen mean and not very clean: his band unfaſhionable, with a ſpeck or two of blood upon it: his hat without a hatband: his ſword cloſe to his ſide: his countenance ſwoln and reddiſh: his voice ſharp and untunable; and his elocution full of fervor. Defending ſome libels againſt the queen, he was much hearkened to. But he ſoon improved, and ſhewed himſelf another man; and by the help of good cloaths, converſation and ſucceſs, appeared of a great and majeſtick deportment, and of a lofty and comely preſence; towards which he had ſingular advantages from two great maſters, Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden, who cunningly made uſe of his bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, at a time when he had nothing to loſe, and very much to expect."

warm in diſcourſe, he was apt, ſays Dr. Welwood, to ſtammer. And as to his behaviour, it was ſaid of him, that he beſtowed favours with a worſe grace than his ſon Charles the Second refuſed them, and many times obliterated the ſenſe of an obligation by the manner of it.

But what was the ſtrongeſt indication of Cromwell's great abilities, was the knowledge he ſhewed of mankind. No man ever dived into the manners and minds of thoſe about him with more penetration, nor ſooner diſcovered their natural talents and tempers than himſelf. If he chanced to hear of a man fit for his purpoſe, tho' never ſo obſcure, he ſent for him and employed him; ſuiting the employment to the perſon, and not the perſon to the employment. Upon this maxim in his government, ſays one, depended in a great meaſure his ſucceſs. And what maxim could be nobler than this, and more worthy of a governor? Had king Charles followed it, and not truſted the management of his weightieſt affairs to parаſites and prieſts, the only creatures who engroſſed his favour, his advocates would never have had that popular ſubject, his martyrdom, to harangue on, nor the uſurpation of Cromwell to complain of *.

§. 3. The piety and virtue of king Charles, with ſome people, are inexhauſtible themes of declamation. They

* "How this prince comes to be ſo extremely popular amongſt many of the clergy, and conſequently amongſt many of the laity, influenced by them, is obvious enough. He was a very great bigot to the church, to ceremonies, and ſhew in religion, and to the power and pomp of churchmen. Theſe he cheriſhed, and exalted, and ſurrendered to them almoſt the whole ſupremacy; and not only ſuffered them to enjoy the uſe of it as a preſent from him, but ſuffered them to ſeize it for themſelves, and even to deny his title to it. [See note at the end of §. 5.] For ſuch court

They tell us, he was a proteſtant in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, firm to the church of England, conſtant and regular in devotion: that he was never guilty of any exceſs, never regarded any woman but his queen, and could not bear any diſcourſe that was lewd or profane. All this may be granted, without any prejudice to the character of Cromwell; tho' it is a matter of much doubt, if every particular of what is here ſaid be exactly true. For if, as ſome affirm, he was for a middle way between proteſtants and papiſts; or as others, did even compliment the pope by letter with his uſual title, and was willing to reſtore the revenues of the eccleſiaſtics, which had been divided by Henry VIII, among the nobility; I cannot ſee how he can be eſteemed ſo hearty a proteſtant. But who ever doubted of Cromwell's ſincere zeal for proteſtantiſm, againſt the errors of the church of Rome? Did he not give many ſignal inſtances * of it, both at home and abroad? As to his devotion, we have as

court and favour to them, for humouring them in their perſecution of the puritans, for his glutting them with power, and becoming their creature rather than ſovereign and head of the church; they promoted and conſecrated all the exceſſes, oppreſſions, and lawleſs meaſures of his reign, becauſe all theſe violences were exerciſed over the laity; and the churchmen were ſo far from feeling them, that they ſhared in his domination, and acted the king too in their place and turn. This is the true ſource of ſo much merit and praiſe; for this he is adored and ſainted; for this he has been often compared to Jeſus Chriſt in his ſufferings; and for this the guilt of murdering him has been repreſented as greater than that of crucifying our Bleſſed Saviour." Vide a Layman's ſermon before the ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn, Jan. 30, 1731.

* See thoſe that we have quoted in the VIIIth chapter.

as good a proof of his ſincerity therein, as we can have of any ſuch matter; I mean, his whole outward deportment. And it is allowed that he was very temperate, ſparing in his diet, and tho' he would ſometimes drink freely, yet never to exceſs; that he was moderate in all other pleaſures, and after his firſt reformation, free from all viſible immoralities: that he ſeemed to be a great enemy to vice, and a lover of virtue; always taking care to ſuppreſs the former, and to encourage the latter.

King Charles's high opinion of the royal dignity, and the extraordinary qualities he aſſumed to himſelf thereupon, could not but hinder him from being an open and chearful companion. Accordingly we are told, that he was of a grave and melancholic diſpoſition. But Cromwell, at the height of his fortune, was very diverting and familiar in converſation, when among his friends; tho' in publick, for decorum ſake, he was more reſerved. On theſe familiar occaſions he commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take a pipe himſelf. But when buſineſs came upon the carpet, he would paſs from theſe relaxations to the moſt ſerious diſcourſe, and adviſe with his friends about his weighty and important affairs. Add to this, that he affected, for the moſt part, a plainneſs in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendants, he appeared with magnificence upon publick occaſions. This ſhews he had a more true taſte of real grandeur and majeſty, than many who were born to the enjoyment of them.

§. 4. "It cannot be proved, ſays Rapin, that king Charles excited the Iriſh rebellion: however, it may be affirmed, it was not againſt him that the Iriſh took arms. The papiſts, both Iriſh and Engliſh, always looked upon this prince as their protector, and were ever ready to aſſiſt him*." If ſo, and conſequently it

* Vide note at the end of §. 5.

it ſhould be found that the Iriſh rebellion was not diſagreeable to him, with what face can his advocates call him a merciful prince, and accuſe Cromwell of cruelty? Can Cromwell be charged with conniving at any ſingle aſſaſſination, much leſs with permitting the maſſacre of thouſands? He was in his temper good-natured and humane, even to his known enemies. He would ſometimes be very merry and jocund with ſome of the nobility; and would then take occaſion to tell them, what company they had lately kept, and when and where they had drank the king and the royal family's health; adviſing them, when they did ſo again, to do it more privately: and this without the leaſt ſign of paſſion.

We need not deny perſonal courage to king Charles, in order to prove that Cromwell was braver than he. It was no great compliment therefore that was paſſed on him by the French miniſter, when he called the protector the firſt captain of the age. His courage and conduct in the field were undoubtedly admirable: he had a dignity of ſoul, which the greateſt dangers and difficulties rather animated than diſcouraged; and his diſcipline and government of the army, in all reſpects, was ſuch as might become the moſt renowned and accompliſhed general. Nor was it any diminution of this part of his character, that he was wary in his conduct, and that, after he was declared protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his other clothes. Leſs caution than he made uſe of, in the place that he poſſeſs'd, and ſurrounded as he was by ſecret and open enemies, might have deſerved the name of negligence.

§. 5. I come now to that part of the parallel, in which king Charles is thought by many to have had much the advantage, I mean ſincerity. Cromwell indeed was a great diſſembler *: but was he greater than

* I cannot help making a quotation here from a modern hiſtorian, who has taken much pains to blacken

than the man who deceived him? Muſt not every one who reads his hiſtory, acknowledge with Rapin, that ſincerity was not the favourite virtue of king Charles? He that made frequent uſe of mental reſervations concealed in ambiguous terms and general expreſſions, whereof he reſerved the explication for a proper place and ſeaſon; he who gave his aſſent to acts of parliament, the moſt ſolemn promiſe a king of England can make, merely in a belief of their being void in themſelves, and conſequently that he was not bound by the engagement; he who courted the parliament's generals, in whoſe power he was, to reſtore him, with a view all the time to deſtroy them, ruin their maſters, and introduce an arbitrary power by right of conqueſt

blacken Cromwell's character, as there appears to be a good deal of truth in his words, mingled up with ſome malice. He tells us, that the uſurper brought about his ends by the moſt exquiſite hypocriſy, and artful management of the ſeveral tribes of bigots and enthuſiaſts under his command. "Other generals, ſays he, by interpreting omens and uncommon accidents, have accompliſhed mighty things; but none ever knew how to work up the paſſions, and apply the wild whimſies of melancholy men to their particular deſigns, like this ſon of diſſimulation and atheiſm. He had well ſtudied the weakneſs and folly peculiar to every ſect, and could direct their rage and fury to the deſtruction of his enemies; and, when it grew dangerous to himſelf, as artfully play them againſt each other. Princes of old ſent to conſult the oracles of diſtant countries; this prodigy of a man was himſelf the ſoldier's oracle; and, if he ſaid heaven approved his purpoſe, they undertook the moſt hazardous enterprize as chearfully as if an angel had promiſed them ſucceſs." Salmon's hiſtory of England, vol. vii. p. 184. It is not my deſign to prove that Cromwell was not a great diſſembler, but that king Charles actually was ſo too See more concerning the king in the extracts, §. 7.

conqueſt over his own people; could he be the honeſteſt, ſincereſt, beſt man in England, as Cromwell once thought him by miſtake, and others, who cannot now be miſtaken, have ſince repreſented him? Was it ſtrange that the parliament ſhould not confide in his promiſes? or that Cromwell, after diſcovering his intentions, ſhould abandon his intereſt, and even endeavour to countermine him in his own way? I cannot help thinking that Cromwell had never been that finiſhed diſſembler he afterwards appeared, if the king firſt, and afterwards his own party, had not made it neceſſary to his preſervation; which ſeems to be all he once aimed at: but when he had tried the experiment, and found himſelf an over-match both for the one and the other, he purſued the advantage, till he had joſtled royalty firſt, and afterwards the new-fangled commonwealth monſter, out of all authority, and erected monarchy again in his own perſon upon another baſis, under a name that had not yet become obnoxious.

We are told that Cromwell was an enthuſiaſt. But the good ſenſe that appeared in all his actions, publick and private, is a ſufficient teſtimony that enthuſiaſm had not the aſcendant over him. And indeed, notwithſtanding his pretenſions of grace and regeneration, one would be tempted to think that he could have no real reliſh of the doctrines he profeſſed, but only that he ſuited his diſſimulation to all parties and tempers. Mr. Waller, who was his kinſman, frequently waited on him during his protectorſhip; and, as he often declared, obſerved him to be very well read in antient learning; and that his rude cant and ſpiritual ſimplicity were downright affectation. Waller frequently took notice, that in the midſt of their diſcourſe a ſervant has come in, to tell him ſuch and ſuch perſons attended: upon which Cromwell would riſe, and ſtop them, talking at the door, where he could over-hear him ſay, "The Lord will reveal, the Lord will help," and ſeveral ſuch expreſſions; which, when he returned to Mr. Waller, he excuſed,

ſaying, "Couſin Waller, I muſt talk to theſe men after their own way;" and would then go on where they left off. This created in Mr. Waller an opinion, that he ſecretly deſpiſed thoſe whom he ſeemed to court.

But if Cromwell was no enthuſiaſt, it is certain that king Charles was a very great one. Pomp and ceremony, which were then called decency and good order, with the divine right of epiſcopacy, as well as royalty, had got ſo thorough a poſſeſſion of his underſtanding, that he could ſee nothing but through the medium of theſe. So had he been faſhioned by Laud, Neile, Wren, Montague, and the other Sacheverels of thoſe times, that if he may in any ſenſe be called a martyr, it was to the pride and ambition of eccleſiaſticks, rather than, as is weakly pretended, to the proteſtant religion, and the church of England *.

§. 6. I

* We have an unexceptionable picture of the principal clergy of this reign, from a ſpeech of the excellent lord Falkland, a nobleman who was afterwards ſlain in the king's ſervice. "It ſeemed, ſays he, their work [the biſhops] to try how much of a papiſt might be brought in without popery, and to deſtroy as much as they could of the goſpel, without bringing themſelves into danger of being deſtroyed by the law. Some of them have ſo induſtriouſly laboured to deduce themſelves from Rome, that they have given great ſuſpicion, that in gratitude they deſire to return thither, or at leaſt to meet it half way. Some have evidently laboured to bring in an Engliſh, though not a Roman, popery: I mean, not only the outſide and dreſs of it, but equally abſolute, a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themſelves; and have oppoſed the papacy beyond the ſea, that they might ſettle one beyond the Water [namely, at Lambeth.] Nay, common fame is more than ordinarily falſe, if none of them have found a way to reconcile the opinions of Rome to the preferments

§. 6. I ſhall continue this parallel only in two inſtances more, which regard the exerciſe of their authority;

ments of England, and be ſo abſolutely, directly, and cordially papiſts, that it is all that fifteen hundred pounds a year can do to keep them from confeſſing it."—He had ſaid juſt before, "That they had firſt depreſſed preaching to their power, and next laboured to make it ſuch, as the harm had not been much if it had been depreſſed. The moſt frequent ſubjects, even in the moſt ſecret auditories, being the divine right of biſhops and tithes, the ſacredneſs of the clergy, the ſacrilege of impropriations, the demoliſhing of puritaniſm and property, the building the prerogative at St. Paul's; the introduction of ſuch doctrines, as, admitting them true, the truth would not recompenſe the ſcandal; or of ſuch that were ſo falſe, that, as Sir Thomas Moore ſaid of the caſuiſts, they ſerved but to inform them how near they might approach to ſin, without ſinning.

A late author aſſerts farther, and it ſeems upon very good ground, "That archbiſhop Laud was already affecting the title of holineſs, and moſt holy father. The books of papiſts were licenſed by his chaplains, or approved by himſelf. New books againſt popery were by him forbid to be printed; ſome ſuch already printed were called in. The beſt proteſtant books of long ſtanding, and formerly publiſhed by authority, were not ſuffered to be reprinted; not even Fox's famous acts and monuments, a common place book to proteſtants of their ſufferings and burnings under queen Mary, and of the popiſh cruelty then and before. The very Practice of piety, a proteſtant book, which had gone through ſix-and-thirty editions, was not permitted to be reprinted. Biſhop Wren put this extraordinary article among thoſe of his viſitation: "That the churchwardens in every pariſh in his dioceſe ſhould enquire whether any perſons preſumed to talk of religion at their tables, or in their families." It was made one of

thority; and theſe are, their juſtice in the adminiſtration of affairs at home, and their zeal for the honour of their country abroad. As to the firſt, "King Charles, according to his advocate lord Clarendon, was ſo great a lover of juſtice, that no temptation could diſpoſe him to a wrongful action, except

the articles againſt biſhop Williams, that he had ſaid, "He did not allow the prieſts to jeer, nor to make inveſtives againſt the people." It was another article againſt him, "that he had wickedly jeſted on St. Martin's hood." And it was another article againſt him, "that he had ſaid, that the people are God's and the king's, and not the prieſts' people; though for this he quoted a national council. Poor Gillebrand, an almanack-maker, was proſecuted by the archbiſhop in the high-commiſſion court, for leaving the names of the old popiſh ſaints out of his calendar, and inſerting in their room the names of the proteſtant martyrs. Biſhop Coſins of Durham cauſed three hundred wax-candles to be lighted up in the church on Candlemas-day, in honour of our lady. He forbad any pſalms to be ſung before or after the ſermon, but, inſtead of pſalms, an anthem in praiſe of the three kings of Colen. He declared in the pulpit, that when our reformers aboliſhed the maſs, they took away all good order. He ſaid that the king had no more power over the church, than the boy that rubbed his horſes heels. For the clergy had then aſſumed to themſelves the real ſupremacy; and as the crown had taken it from the pope, who had uſurped it, they had uſurped it now from the crown, to the diſgrace of the king, the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and to their own ſhame, and even perjury." Wide examination of the facts and reaſonings in the biſhop of Chicheſter's ſermon before the houſe of lords, Jan. 30, 1731. What muſt the king be, who could bear all this, and even ſuffer himſelf in defence of theſe uſurpations? See note at the end of §. of this chapter.

cept it was ſo diſguiſed to him, that he believed it to be juſt." Upon which Rapin has the following remark. "This, ſays he, may be true, if applied to particular perſons: but beſides the juſtice which a king ought to adminiſter impartially to private perſons, there is another ſort of juſtice due from him to all his people in general. With reſpect to this latter, it may juſtly be doubted, that lord Clarendon's encomium is inconſiſtent with the project of altering the conſtitution, and aſſuming a power which was certainly illegal."

But more than this: methinks we may even queſtion the whole of lord Clarendon's aſſertion. Could he be ſo great a lover of juſtice, who ſuffered it to be daily perverted, in the moſt notorious manner, by the ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion courts? Were levies upon the people without conſent of parliament, and arbitrary impriſonments and fines for non-payment; were thoſe, inſtances of a tender regard for private property, and the liberty of the ſubject? But perhaps theſe were the actions that came diſguiſed to him, ſo as to appear juſt. If that was the caſe, he muſt either have been more ignorant, or more indolent, than became a king. But the imputation of ignorance he removed himſelf, when he declared, that "he knew the law as well as any private gentleman in England." What then, did he entirely neglect the examination of affairs? did he leave all to his miniſters, the Villiers, the Lauds, and the Straffords? will not even this be allowed? Then let thoſe, who can, acquit him of the many illegal acts of ſovereignty, that blacken his reign.

I need not take much pains to prove that Cromwell was herein unlike king Charles; ſince the worſt of his enemies call him a lover of juſtice, without any ſuch ſaving clauſe about the diſguiſing of a wrongful action. Cromwell ſaw and judged for himſelf; if an action was diſguiſed, he knew how to unmaſk it, which he certainly did. Whatever arbitrary proceedings he has been charged with, were only in inſtances

where his authority was controverted; which, as things then were, it was neceſſary to have eſtabliſhed, not for his particular ſecurity alone, but in order that the law, in other caſes, might have due courſe.

And if he claims this preeminence in the adminiſtration at home, what ſhall we ſay of the other point, his maintaining the honour of the Engliſh nation in foreign parts? By this, it has been well obſerved, he gratified the temper which is ſo very natural to Engliſhmen. He would often ſay, "that the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the repreſentative head; and therefore the nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame reſpect paid to his miniſters as if he had been a king." Was it not an inſtance without example, that in four or five years he ſhould revenge all the inſults committed on his country during a civil war, retrieve the credit that had been gradually ſinking through two long reigns of near fifty years, extend his dominions in remote parts, acquire the real maſtery of the Britiſh channel, and in fine, render himſelf the arbiter of Europe *? Not a ſingle Briton, in

* "England, ſays M. de Voltaire, (ſpeaking of the ſtate of Europe at the beginning of Lewis XIV's reign) which was much more powerful [than Holland] claimed the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and pretended to balance the ſeveral ſtates of Europe. But Charles I. who aſcended the throne in 1625, ſo far from being able to hold the weight of this balance, found the ſcepter dropping from his hand. His deſign was to raiſe his power to ſuch a height in England, as to make it independent on the laws; and to change the religion eſtabliſhed in Scotland. Too obſtinate to deſiſt from his views, and too weak to put them in execution, this kind huſband and tender father, this good man and ill-adviſed monarch, engaged in a civil war, which at laſt brought him to a ſcaffold, where, with his crown, he loſt his life.

This

in his time, but could demand reparation, or at leaſt revenge, for injuries ſuſtained, whether from the corſairs of Barbary, France, or Spain *. Not an oppreſſed foreigner claimed his protection, but it was immediately and effectually granted. What ſhall we compare to this in the reign of king Charles or his father? Was the honour of the flag then aſſerted? Were we not duped, deſpiſed, and inſulted? How was the elector Palatine protected, though the ſon-in-law of king James? How was the duke of Rohen aſſiſted, in the proteſtant war at Rochelle, notwithſtanding the ſolemn engagement of king Charles under his own hand? But I have done with comparing of perſons between whom there is ſo little ſhadow of reſemblance; and ſhall content myſelf with throwing together a few more ſuch particulars with regard to each of them, as I find to be the ſentiments of thoſe who have written of theſe times.

§. 7. To begin with the king. And here I ſhall have recourſe to the words of a modern author †, who

This civil war, begun in the minority of Lewis XIV. prevented England for ſome time from concerning itſelf with the intereſts of its neighbours, whereby that country loſt its eſteem and felicity. Its trade was interrupted; ſo that all other nations imagined England was buried under its own ruins, when on a ſudden, it emerged and grew more formidable than ever under the government of Oliver. This man poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſupreme power, by carrying the goſpel in one hand, a ſword in the other, and by wearing the vizor of religion; and, during his adminiſtration, he veiled the crimes of an uſurper with the qualities of a great king." Eſſay on the age of Lewis XIV. p. 26. in Engliſh.

* Vide the ſtory of the quaker in the preceding chapter.

† Examination of the facts and reaſonings in the biſhop of Chicheſter's ſermon, Jan. 30. 1731.

who has drawn his character I am afraid but too juſtly, though perhaps with a little more warmth and freedom of expreſſion than were abſolutely neceſſary. "The violation, ſays he, the repeated and continual violation of his coronation oath; his paſſing the bill of rights, and owning all theſe rights to be legal and juſt, and thence confeſſing that he had broken them all; nay, his violating that very bill in all its parts, almoſt as ſoon as he had paſſed it, were but ill marks of a heart very upright and ſincere. Of all theſe exceſſes he was guilty, at a time when his parliament were well diſpoſed for the honourable ſupport of his government, and free from any deſign to diſtreſs it, much leſs to alter it; nay, were ready to grant him very noble ſupplies, if he would but have ſuffered juſtice to be done upon public traitors, the infamous inſtruments of illegal power, and of mutual diſtruſt between him and his people.——

He actually committed, or attempted to commit, all the enormities, all the acts of uſurpation, committed by the late king James; levied money againſt law; levied forces, and obliged his ſubjects to maintain them, againſt law; raiſed a body of foreign forces to deſtroy the law, and enſlave his people at once; diſpenſed with all the laws; filled the priſons with illuſtrious patriots, who defended the law, and themſelves by the law; encouraged and rewarded hireling doctors to maintain that his will was above law, nay itſelf the higheſt law, and binding upon the conſciences of his ſubjects, on pain of eternal damnation; and that ſuch as reſiſted his royal will, reſiſted God, and were guilty of impiety and rebellion. He robbed cities of their charters, the publick of its money and liberty, and treated his free-born ſubjects as ſlaves born only to obey him.

It is ſaid, that he was not a papiſt: perhaps he was not; that is, not a ſubject to the pope of Rome: but he was bent upon ſetting up an hierarchy in England, reſembling that of Rome in all its power and terrors. Nor does it avail, if men are to be perſe-

cuted

cuted and oppreſſed for their conſcience, whether they ſuffer from the tyranny of a Hildebrand, a Luther, or a Laud.—It is certain, that of all the diſſenters, none but the papiſts had any mercy ſhewn them, and theſe were in high favour.——

Had he not laid aſide parliaments, [ſpeaking of the latter part of his reign] laid them aſide for twelve years together? Had he not made it penal even to talk of parliaments? Nor does it at all appear, that he ever intended to call another, till the diſtreſſes brought upon him by his wanton conduct, and by the wiſe advice of the biſhops, (who involved him in a war with his own people for words and forms, and the violent eſtabliſhment of prelacy in Scotland) forced him to it. Nay, I think it apparent, that he very early meditated to rule like his brother of France; at leaſt, that this bad ſpirit was infuſed into him by his traiterous counſellors, and particularly animated by the biſhops and clergy.——

His judges were public traitors, enemies to their country, the hirelings of power, wretches who ſanctified by the name of law, as many of the clergy did by the name of Chriſt, the moſt complicated wickedneſſes under the ſun, that of over-turning all laws human and divine, and of enſlaving a whole people. It avails not what ſufficiency they had in the knowledge of the law, farther than to condemn them; nor does it avail what has been ſaid to their advantage, ſince facts, the moſt notorious, contradict it.—Did king James's judges go greater lengths to legitimate lawleſs power and oppreſſion? Amongſt them too were able men; they were therefore the more inexcuſable. The truth is, both theſe princes ſeem to have conſidered their judges as the machines and champions of uſurpation, as the abandoned inſtruments of cancelling law by chicanery.——

As to his declarations and conceſſions, [to his laſt parliament] to govern for the future by the known laws of the land, and to maintain the juſt rights and privileges of parliaments; I have already taken ſome notice how much his actions contradicted his declarations.

tions. He had already contradicted, over and over, all his profeſſions to former parliaments: he had manifeſted ſuch an affection for lawleſs power, and ſuch a ſettled intention to introduce it, ſuch a fondneſs for the promoters of it, and ſuch diſlike of all other men and meaſures; that it was no wonder his laſt parliament was loth to truſt him, and for guarding themſelves with all poſſible ſecurities againſt a relapſe into their former bondage: and I doubt his readineſs in his conceſſions was no proof of a purpoſe to obſerve them. They ſtill remembered how wantonly he had broke his coronation oath, the bill of rights, and all the ties of law; ſeized their properties, and impriſoned their perſons. And all his compliance ſeemed only the effects of diſtreſs, all his other reſources having failed him, nor had he recourſe to parliament, till violence, and power, and ſtratagems, and every ſcheme of ſupport from any other quarter, had miſcarried; and he conformed to old ways, when new would no longer do.

This ſeemed to be the opinion of the parliament, and this the ground of their diſtruſt. They remembered his profeſſions to former parliaments, and how little his actions had correſponded with theſe profeſſions; how he had inſulted parliaments when he thought he could ſubſiſt, however lawleſsly, without them; how wantonly he had diſſolved them; how barbarouſly he had uſed their perſons after ſuch diſſolution; a diſſolution called by lord Clarendon "unreaſonable, unſkilful, and precipitate." Theſe jealouſies poſſeſſed the whole parliament, at leaſt a great majority; and ſome concurring accidents terribly heightened them, * particularly his ſuppoſed tampering with the army in the north, and the Iriſh maſſacre. Yet amongſt all theſe alarms, there ſeems not the leaſt view in that aſſembly to aboliſh the monarchy, or to introduce a new government. It was compoſed of many great and able men, who all concurred

* See chap. 1. §. 6. and 7.

curred in putting reſtraints upon the king, ſuch as he might not be able to break through. What events followed no man foreſaw, or could foreſee. A war enſued, and on both ſides there appeared conſiderable men.

Yet the great men who adhered to the king, tho' they thought the parliament too violent, ſeem to have had no confidence in him, that he meant well to the conſtitution: and it was probably owing to ſuch their diſtruſt of his humour and deſigns, that after the battle of Edge-hill, where he had the advantage on his ſide, they did not proceed to London, where he might have had a chance for being maſter. They who gave him good counſel at Oxford, found but cold countenance, and ſome of them were diſgraced. ——And, if I remember right, it appears even from my lord Clarendon, that the conceſſions which he made, proceeded from no purpoſe to obſerve them.—

As to what has been further offered, in proof of the king's ſincerity and good intentions, namely, his Chriſtian fortitude at his death; this reaſon will [equally] juſtify thoſe who doomed him to die. Did not the regicides meet death with great intrepidity, ſome of them with raptures? Do not almoſt all enthuſiaſts die ſo, even the moſt criminal and bloody, even traitors and aſſaſſins? I think the goodneſs of his intention had been more clear, had he fairly owned the many grievous iniquities of his reign, his oppreſſion and arbitrary rule. But we ſee in this, as in other inſtances, the great partiality of men to themſelves and their own actions, and how little their opinions ought to weigh in ſuch caſes. Cardinal Richelieu, who had done a thouſand acts of violence and injuſtice, ſaw at his death no guilt in any part of his life, eſpecially as a miniſter."

There need be nothing added to theſe extracts, which ſome perhaps may think abundantly too ſevere. But if ſuch things are true, why ſhould they not be ſpoken? Is the name of king Charles ſo very ſacred, that every name elſe muſt be aſperſed to preſerve

ſerve it ſpotleſs? Admit but a very ſmall part of what is here ſaid, and aſcribe all the reſt to partiality and malice; and I doubt there will ſtill be enough to deprive the royal martyr of much of the veneration that is paid to his memory.

§. 8. I now come to my other character, that of Cromwell. We are told by all parties that he had an abſolute command over all his paſſions and affections, ſo that he could ſuit his carriage to all companies and occaſions; while himſelf, ſounding the opinions of others, artfully concealed his own: that he applied himſelf ſo induſtriouſly to the buſineſs of the commonwealth, and diſcovered ſuch abilities for the managing of it, that his greateſt enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been juſt and innocent. In a word, we have this character of him by lord Clarendon, who profeſſedly hated his memory. "He muſt have had a wonderful underſtanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them, who, from a private and obſcure birth (though of a good family) without intereſt or eſtate, alliance or friendſhip, could raiſe himſelf to ſuch a height, and compound and knead ſuch oppoſite and contradictory tempers, humours, and intereſts, into a conſiſtence that contributed to his deſigns, and to their own deſtruction; whilſt himſelf grew inſenſibly powerful enough to cut off thoſe by whom he had climbed, in the inſtant that they projected to demoliſh their own building."

Though Cromwell was ambitious to a very high degree, yet at the ſame time he had a paſſionate regard for the publick good. It is certain he did more things for the honour and advantage of the nation, notwithſtanding his own precarious ſituation, than had been done for whole ages in the preceding times. Some of them were laboured at long before to no effect, and being dropped upon the reſtoration, have been ſince reſumed, and carried on with great difficulty.

difficulty. To inſtance only in two, the union of the three kingdoms and the reformation of the laws. King James had wiſhed, from his firſt coming to England, to cement an union between South and North Britain: neither he nor his ſon could ever accompliſh it; but Cromwell united not only England and Scotland, but brought in Ireland alſo. How many years was it afterwards, and with what expence and labour, that king James's original plan, which was but half ſo extenſive as Cromwell's, was firmly eſtabliſhed? And then as to the laws, he outvied the beſt of our kings that had gone before him, and every one ſince him till his preſent moſt ſacred majeſty. Edward III. permitted pleading in the Engliſh tongue, but he went no farther; whereas Cromwell rendered not only the pleadings, but the practice, and even the laws themſelves into Engliſh. And what a noble ſcheme this was, is manifeſted from the reſumption of it in our own days.

If Cromwell united three kingdoms in one, he firſt conquered two of thoſe kingdoms. Ireland had long been reckoned a demeſne of the crown of England, but had never been ſo ſubdued as to render the natives tractable and docile. They were now at open war with the Engliſh parliament, and had got poſſeſſion of all the garriſons but one or two. But Cromwell ſoon reduced them to obedience, and put them out of a capacity of being ever ſo formidable ſince. He did the ſame by the hardy Scots; and even took their impregnable caſtle of Edinburgh, which, they ſay, had never before ſubmitted to a conqueror. With all theſe extraordinary qualities, and this wonderful ſeries of ſucceſs, need we think it ſtrange that he was the admiration of the age in which he lived, and that thoſe who hated him moſt, even praiſed him in their invectives? That Dryden, Waller, Sprat, and other fine poets, who afterwards inſulted his memory, in order to [illegible] their court to the riſing ſun, found themſelves

themſelves inſpired with his praiſe *, while his actions were freſh on their minds, and could not help paying that tribute to his remains, which the muſes never beſtow voluntarily † but on the greateſt of men, the heroes and patrons of mankind?

§. 9. Having mentioned the poets, I cannot in juſtice but take notice that Mr. Abraham Cowley, the celebrated wit of that age, was ſo far from falling in with this panegyrizing humour of his brethren, that he has written "a diſcourſe by way of viſion, concerning the government of Oliver Cromwell," with an expreſs view to render his name and memory odious to all poſterity. But if it be conſidered, that Mr. Cowley had altogether as ſtrong perſonal reaſons, at leaſt in his own opinion, to prejudice him againſt the protector, as Mr. Waller had to engage him in his intereſt, we ſhall have juſt grounds to ſuſpect the impartiality of the ſatiriſt, as much as that of the encomiaſt. Waller had been fined and baniſhed in the heat of the civil war, for a conſpiracy againſt the parliament, of which he was a member: he was recalled when Cromwell aſſumed the ſupreme power, and had his eſtate, what was left of it, reſtored to him by the protector ‡. Cowley had all along been a ſharer in the diſtreſſes of the royal family, and ſpent above twelve years in their ſervice abroad; and when

* See the collection of poems inſerted in the appendix.

† It muſt be confeſſed that Waller's relation and obligations to the protector were ſuch, that one can hardly ſay whether the incenſe he offered to him was altogether voluntary or not: but Dryden, Sprat, and the others, whoſe pieces we have annexed to this book, had no ſuch motive; and therefore the remark continues juſt.

‡ See his life, as printed before many editions of his works.

it was thought fit, by thoſe on whom he depended, that he ſhould come over into England, and, under pretence of privacy and retirement, take occaſion here of giving notice of the poſture of affairs; he was ſeized ſoon after his arrival, being miſtaken for another gentleman, and after examination detained, and put under a ſevere reſtraint, from which he was not releaſed without giving a thouſand pounds bail, which kept him in England a ſort of priſoner at large till after Cromwell's death*; a circumſtance that, added to his native loyalty to his maſter, would hardly fail of ſouring his temper againſt the government of thoſe times. Tho' in fact, to an unprejudiced perſon at this day, if the buſineſs he came over upon was really diſcovered at his examination, it rather proves the lenity than the ſeverity of Cromwell's adminiſtration, that a man of Mr. Cowley's dangerous genius and firm attachment to the king, and whom it had been found impoſſible to bring over to the other party, ſhould have his liberty upon ſuch eaſy terms. But the light in which Mr. Cowley beheld the protector's authority, made every act of power he exerted, tho' ever ſo tenderly, look like heavy oppreſſion, and moſt inſupportable tyranny.

Yet when I read this gentleman's above-mention'd diſcourſe, (which is couched in the form of a dialogue between the guardian, or rather governing demon of the deceaſed protector, and the author,) I cannot but think he has put ſome arguments into the mouth of his evil ſpirit, that he ſeems not able ſatisfactorily to anſwer afterwards, and that too in thoſe particulars on which he the moſt ſtrenuouſly inſiſts. I will give the reader only two paragraphs, with a few ſhort reflections on them.

"What can be more extraordinary, ſays our imaginary demon, than that a perſon of mean birth, no

* See the life of Mr. Abraham Cowley, written by Dr. Sprat, and prefixed to Mr. Cowley's works.

fortune,

fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have ſometimes, nor of mind, which have often, raiſed men to the higheſt dignities, ſhould have the courage to attempt, and the happineſs to ſucceed in, ſo improbable a deſign, as the deſtruction of one of the moſt antient, and moſt ſolid founded monarchies upon earth? That he ſhould have the power or boldneſs to put his prince and maſter to an open and infamous death? To baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly-allied family? To do all this under the name and wages of a parliament? To trample upon them as he pleaſed, and ſpurn them out of doors when he grew weary of them? To raiſe up a new, and unheard of monſter out of their aſhes? To ſtifle that in the very infancy, and ſet up himſelf above all things that ever were called ſovereign in England? To oppreſs his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? To ſerve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriouſly at laſt? To over-run each corner of the three nations, and overcome, with equal facility, both the riches of the ſouth, and the poverty of the north? To be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? To call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and ſcatter them again with the breath of his mouth? To be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would pleaſe to be hired, at the rate of two millions a year, to be the maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to be their ſervant? To have the eſtates and lives of three kingdoms as much at his diſpoſal, as was the little inheritance of his father; and to be as noble and liberal in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory) to bequeath all this with one word to his poſterity? To die with peace at home, and triumph abroad? To be buried among kings with more than regal ſolemnity? And to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguiſhed but with the whole world; which, as it is now too little for his praiſes, ſo might it have been too for his conqueſts, if the

ſhort

ſhort line of his human life could have been ſtretched out to the extent of his immortal deſigns?" *

I took notice, at the beginning of this review †, of the great abſurdity of depriving Cromwell of every great and noble quality, and at the ſame time aſcribing to him ſuch actions as none but a great man was ever known to perform. Mr. Cowley, we ſee, among the other loyal writers of that age, has fallen into this abſurdity, and even put it into the mouth of the protector's apologiſt, as a thing acknowledged by his own party. But needs there any other anſwer to the poſtulatum in the firſt queſtion, than what is contained in that, and all the queſtions that follow? It lay upon him to prove, that the man who did all the wonderful things he there enumerates, had no extraordinary qualities either of body or mind: otherwiſe we are not obliged to admit ſuch an improbability on his mere ſuppoſition, againſt all the evidence of facts, that no man attempts to contradict? The whole diſpute therefore concerning his merit, muſt turn at laſt, I believe, upon his moral qualifications, and not upon his abilities natural or acquired. And the only queſtion then is (and indeed Mr. Cowley's declamation againſt him hinges chiefly on that point) whether Cromwell was an honeſt, not whether he was a great man? and how far what he did will admit of a juſtification? This is the propoſition I have had in view throughout the preſent eſſay: every reader muſt judge, according to his own ſentiments of government, and the critical ſituation of thoſe times, how much I have carried it in his favour. For till the points are ſettled, in what caſes, and how far, reſiſtance to the ſupreme magiſtrate be lawful; and at what criſis a man may, to prevent confuſion, aſſume that power to himſelf which he ſees to be falling away from others; I cannot ſee that we have any certainty to determine theſe matters by Cromwell's ſincerity, which I have almoſt every

* See Cowley's works 12°. p. 585, in vol. II.
† Chap. §. 2.

where

where given up, especially after his breaking off with the king; but this, I think, is done with no more disadvantage to him, than the king himself is stripped of the same virtue, upon evidence equally valid. And allowing him to be defective in this, and that he was a most finished dissembler (if indeed dissimulation were in him properly a defect) I should be glad to know what other qualification, necessary to the forming a great prince, I will not venture to say a good man, appears to be wanting in him.

But I proceed to my other quotation, in which the author makes his demon discuss the question, Whether the protector were a tyrant in the usurpation of power? The passage runs thus:

"I say, that not only he, but no man ever was so, [a tyrant in the usurpation of power;] and that for these reasons. First, because all power belongs only to God, who is the source and fountain of it, as kings are of all honours in their dominions. Princes are but his viceroys in the little provinces of this world; and to some he gives their places for a few years, to some for their lives, and to others (upon ends and deserts best known to himself, or merely for his indisputable good pleasure) he bestows, as it were, leases upon them, and their posterity, for such a date of time as is prefixed in that patent of their destiny, which is not legible to you men below. Neither is it more unlawful for Oliver to succeed Charles in the kingdom of England, when God so disposes of it, than it had been for him to have succeeded the lord Strafford in the lieutenancy of Ireland, if he had been appointed to it by the king then reigning. Men are in both cases obliged to obey him, whom they see actually invested with the authority, by that sovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without disputing or examining the causes, either of the removal of the one, or the preferment of the other. Secondly, because all power is attended either by the election or consent of the people, and that takes away the objection of forcible intrusion; or else by [illegible] of the[illegible]

them, and that gives ſuch a legal authority as muſt be wanting in the uſurpation of a tyrant: ſo that either this title is right, and then there are no uſurpers, or elſe it is a wrong one, and then there are none elſe but uſurpers, if you examine the original pretences of the princes of the world. Thirdly, (which, quitting the diſpute in general, is a particular juſtification of his highneſs) the government of England was totally broken and diſſolved, and extinguiſhed by the confuſions of a civil war; ſo that his highneſs could not be accuſed of poſſeſſing himſelf violently of the antient building of the commonwealth, but to have prudently and peaceably built up a new one out of the ruins and aſhes of the former: and he who, after a deplorable ſhipwreck, can with extraordinary induſtry gather together the diſperſed and broken planks and pieces of it, and with no leſs wonderful art and facility ſo rejoin them, as to make a new veſſel more tight and beautiful than the old one, deſerves, no doubt, to have the command of her (even as his highneſs had) by the deſire of the ſeamen and paſſengers themſelves. And do but conſider laſtly, (for I omit a multitude of weighty things that might be ſpoken upon this noble argument) do but conſider ſeriouſly and impartially with yourſelf, what admirable parts of wit and prudence, what indefatigable diligence and invincible courage muſt of neceſſity have concurred in the perſon of that man, who on ſo contemptible beginnings, and thro' ſo many thouſand difficulties, was able not only to make himſelf the greateſt and moſt abſolute monarch of this nation, but to add to it the entire conqueſt of Ireland and Scotland (which the whole force of the world, joined with the Roman virtue, could never attain to) and to crown all this with illuſtrious and heroical undertakings, and ſucceſſes upon all our foreign enemies; do but, I ſay, conſider this, and you will confeſs, that his prodigious merits were a better title to imperial dignity, than the blood of an hundred royal progenitors; and will rather lament

that he lived not to overcome more nations, than envy him the conqueſt and dominion of theſe." *

I refer the reader to the author's works for his anſwer at large to the foregoing propoſitions, it being too long to be inſerted here; but muſt inform him beforehand, that if he is not prejudiced by notions of abſolute indefeaſible right, I am apt to think he will imagine Mr. Cowley might, upon the main, as well have let this enquiry alone; and that he has ſtated the points of aſſumption and tranſlation of empire a little too ſtrongly on the protector's ſide, unleſs his own arguments had been better founded, and more concluſive.

To make Cromwell the ſole author of all that confuſion, and diſſolution of government, in which he manifeſtly bore only a part, and that in the capacity of a ſervant; but which he ſingly reſtored again at a critical time to his own advantage; and yet to deny him every great endowment, moral and intellectual; nay the very honour of having once ſaid a wiſe and witty thing; this is more of the ſame abſurdity that was before exploded, and what might well enough make his antagoniſt "fall a laughing, as the author himſelf expreſſes it, at the ſimplicity of his diſcourſe." † As to the reſt, there may be much truth in what he advances upon moral and chriſtian principles, and ſomewhat immoral and unchriſtian in a few of the Machiavellian maxims above recited: yet the admitting of all this does not derogate from Cromwell's abilities, nor leſſen the merit of his making a good uſe of power, when he might, without controul, have abuſed it to the vileſt purpoſes.

* Vol. II. p. 594, &c.
† Page 617.

# APPENDIX.

## No. I.

A LETTER of the marquis of Montroſs to king Charles I. delivered during the treaty of Uxbridge, and which was the occaſion of breaking off the conferences.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

THE laſt diſpatch I ſent your majeſty was by my worthy friend, and your majeſty's brave ſervant, Sir William Rollock, from Kintore, near Aberdeen, dated the 14th of September laſt; wherein I acquainted your majeſty with the good ſucceſs of your arms in this kingdom, and of the battles the juſtice of your cauſe has won over your obdured rebel ſubjects. Since Sir William Rollock went, I have traverſed all the north of Scotland, up to Argyle's country, who durſt not ſtay my coming, or I ſhould have given your majeſty a good account of him ere now. But at laſt I have met with him yeſterday to his coſt; of which your gracious majeſty be pleaſed to receive the following particulars.

After I had laid waſte the whole county of Argyle, and brought off proviſions for my army of what could be found, I received information, that Argyle was got together with a conſiderable army made up chiefly of his own clan and vaſſals, and tenants, with others of

the rebels that joined him; and that he was at Inverlochy, where he expected the earl of Seaforth, and a Sept (family) of the Fraziers, to come up to him with all the forces they could get together. Upon this intelligence I departed out of Argyleſhire, and marched thro' Lorn, Glencow, and Aber, till I came to Lockneſs; my deſign being to fall upon Argyle, before Seaforth, and the Fraziers could join him. My march was thro' inacceſſible mountains, where I could have no guides but cowherds, and they ſcarce acquainted with a place but ſix miles from their own habitations. If I had been attacked but with one hundred men in ſome of theſe paſſes, I muſt have certainly returned back; for it would have been impoſſible to force my way, moſt of the paſſes being ſo ſtrait, that three men could not march a-breaſt. I was willing to let the world ſee, that Argyle was not the man his highland men believed him to be, and that it was not impoſſible to beat him in his own highlands. The difficulteſt march of all, was over the Lochaber mountains, which we at laſt ſurmounted, and came upon the back of the enemy when they leaſt ſuſpected us, having cut off ſome ſcouts we met four miles from Inverlochy. Our van came within view of them about five o'clock in the afternoon, and we made a halt till our rear was got up, which could not be done till eight at night. The rebels took the alarm and ſtood to their arms, as well as we, all night; which was moon-light, and very clear. There were ſome few ſkirmiſhes between the rebels and us all the night, and with no loſs on our ſide, but one man. By break of day I ordered my men to be ready to fall on upon the firſt ſignal; and I underſtood ſince by the priſoners, the rebels did the ſame. A little after the ſun was up both armies met, and the rebels fought for ſome time with great bravery; the prime of the Campbels giving the firſt onſet as men that deſerved to fight in a better cauſe. Our men, having a nobler cauſe, did wonders, and came immediately to puſh of pike, and dint of ſword, after their firſt firing. The rebels could not ſtand it,

out,

but, after ſome reſiſtance at firſt, began to run, whom we purſued for nine miles together, making a great ſlaughter; which I would have hindered, if poſſible, that I might ſave your majeſty's rebel ſubjects; for well I know your majeſty does not delight in their blood, but in their returning to their duty. There were at leaſt fifteen hundred killed in the battle, and the purſuit; among whom were a great many of the moſt conſiderable gentlemen of the name of Campbell, and ſome of them nearly related to the earl. I have ſaved and taken priſoners ſeveral of them, that have acknowledged to me their fault, and lay all the blame on their chief. Some gentlemen of the low lands, that had behaved themſelves bravely in the battle, when they ſaw all loſt, fled into their old caſtle; and upon their ſurrender I have treated them honourably, and taken their parole, never to bear arms againſt your majeſty. We have of your majeſty's army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerouſly. I can hear but of four killed, and one of them whom I cannot name to your majeſty but with grief of mind, Sir Thomas Ogilvy, of whom I wrote to you in my laſt. He is not yet dead, but they ſay he cannot poſſibly live, and we give him over for dead. Your majeſty had never a truer ſervant, nor there never was a braver honeſter gentleman. For the reſt of the particulars of this action, I refer myſelf to the bearer, Mr. Hay, whom your majeſty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

Now, ſacred Sir, let me humbly intreat your majeſty's pardon, if I preſume to write you my poor thoughts and opinion about what I heard by a letter I received from my friends in the ſouth laſt week, as if your majeſty was entering into a treaty with your rebel parliament in England. The ſucceſs of your arms in Scotland does not more rejoice my heart, than that news from England is like to break it. And whatever comes of me, I will ſpeak my mind freely to your majeſty; for it is not mine, but your majeſty's intereſt I ſeek. When I had the honour of waiting upon your

majeſty the laſt, I told you at full length what I fully underſtood, of the deſigns of your rebel ſubjects in both kingdoms; which I had occaſion to know as much as any one whatſoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their intereſt. Your majeſty may remember how much you ſaid you were convinced I was in the right in my opinion of them. I am ſure there is nothing fallen out ſince, to make your majeſty change your judgmemt in all thoſe things I laid before your majeſty at that time. The more your majeſty grants, the more will be aſked; and I have too much reaſon to know, that they will not reſt ſatisfied with leſs than making your majeſty a king of ſtraw. I hope the news I have received about a treaty may be a miſtake; and the rather, that the letter wherewith the queen was pleaſed to honour me, dated the 30th of December, mentions no ſuch thing. Yet I know not what to make of the intelligence I received, ſince it comes from Sir Robert Spotſwood, who writes it with great regret; and it's no wonder, conſidering that no man living is a more true ſubject than he. Forgive me, ſacred ſovereign, to tell your majeſty, that in my poor opinion, it is unworthy of a king to treat with rebel ſubjects, while they have the ſword in their hands. And tho' God forbid I ſhould ſtint your majeſty's mercy, yet I muſt declare the horror that I am in, when I think of a treaty, while your majeſty and they are in a field with two armies; unleſs they diſband, and ſubmit themſelves entirely to your majeſty's goodneſs and pardon. As to the ſtate of affairs in this kingdom, the bearer will fully inform your majeſty in every particular. And give me leave, with all humility, to aſſure your majeſty, that thro' God's bleſſing, I am in the faireſt way to reduce this kingdom to your majeſty's obedience. And if the meaſures I have concerted with your other loyal ſubjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this ſummer I ſhall be able to come to your majeſty's aſſiſtance with a brave army; which, backed with the juſtice of your majeſty's cauſe, will make the rebels in

England,

England, as well as in Scotland, feel the juſt rewards of rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduced this country to your majeſty's obedience, and conquered from Dan to Beerſheba, to ſay to your majeſty them, as David's general did to his maſter, "Come thou thyſelf, leſt this country be called by my name;" for, in all my actions, I am only at your majeſty's honour and intereſt, as becomes one that is to his laſt breath,

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

Your majeſty's moſt humble,

moſt faithful, and

moſt obedient ſervant and ſubject,

Innerlochy
in Lochaber,
Feb. 3. 1645. MONTROSS.

No. II.

The ſubſtance of Cromwell's firſt conference with the members and officers concerning ſettling the nation. Whitelock's memoirs, p. 516, a.

LENTHALL the ſpeaker began thus: My lord, this company were very ready to attend your excellency; and the buſineſs you are pleaſed to propound to us, is very neceſſary to be conſidered. God hath given marvellous ſucceſs to our forces under your command, and if we do not improve theſe mercies to ſome ſettlement, ſuch as may be to God's honour, and the good of this comonwealth, we ſhall be very much blame-worthy.

Harriſon. I think that which my lord general hath propounded, is to adviſe us to a ſettlement both of our civil and ſpiritual liberties, and ſo that the mercies which the Lord hath given in to us, may not be caſt away; how this may be done is the great queſtion.

Whitelock. It is a great queſtion indeed, and not ſuddenly to be reſolved; yet it were pity that a meeting of ſo many able worthy perſons as I ſee here, ſhould be fruitleſs. I ſhould humbly offer in the firſt place, whether it be not requiſite to be underſtood, in what way this ſettlement is deſired, whether of an abſolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy.

General Cromwell. My lord commiſſioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point; and indeed it is my meaning, that we ſhould conſider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monarchical government will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power ſhall be placed.

Sir Tho. Widdrington. I think a mix'd monarchical government will be moſt ſuitable to the laws and people of this nation; and if any monarchical, I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold it moſt juſt to place that power in one of the ſons of the late king.

Fleetwood. I think that the queſtion, Whether an abſolute republick, or a mix'd monarchy, be beſt to be ſettled in this nation, will not be very eaſy to be determined.

Lord-chief-juſtice St. John. It will be found that the government of this nation, without ſomething of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be ſo ſettled, as not to ſhake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people.

Lenthall. It will breed a ſtrange confuſion to ſettle a government of this nation, without ſomething of monarchy.

Deſborough. I beſeech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be govern'd in the way of a republick.

Whitelock. The laws of England are ſo interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy

that to ſettle a government without ſomething of monarchy in it, would make ſo great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have ſcarce time to rectify, nor can we well foreſee the inconveniencies which will ariſe thereby.

Whalley. I do not well underſtand matters of law; but it ſeems to me the beſt way, not to have any thing of monarchical power in the ſettlement of our government. And if we ſhould reſolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king's eldeſt ſon hath been in arms againſt us, and his ſecond ſon likewiſe is our enemy.

Sir Thomas Widdrington. But the late king's third ſon, the duke of Glouceſter, is ſtill among us, and too young to have been in arms againſt us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

Whitelock. There may be a day given for the king's eldeſt ſon, or for the duke of York his brother, to come in to the parliament; and upon ſuch terms as ſhall be thought fit, and agreeable both to our civil and ſpiritual liberties, a ſettlement may be made with them.

General Cromwell. That will be a buſineſs of more than ordinary difficulty: but really, I think, if it may be done with ſafety, and preſervation of our rights, both as Engliſhmen and as chriſtians, that a ſettlement with ſomething of monarchical power in it would be very effectual.

## No. III.

A remarkable conference between general Cromwell and Whitelock on the ſame ſubject. Whitelock, p. 548. b. & ſeq.

THE lord-general Cromwell meeting with commiſſioner Whitelock one evening in the park, ſaluted him with more than ordinary courteſy, and

desired to have some private discourse with him. Whitelock waited on him accordingly, and after some previous discourse, the lord-general proceeded thus: "Your lordship hath observed most truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deserts; and others, who have ventured least, have gained most, and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in government; which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their insolence is very great, and their influence on the private soldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings.

Then as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them; these things, my lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them. So that unless there be some authority and power so full and so high, as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin."

Whitelock answered: "I confess the danger we are "in, by these extravagancies and inordinate powers, is more.

more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that part of it which concerns the ſoldiery, your excellency's power and commiſſion is ſufficient already to reſtrain and keep them in their due obedience: and bleſſed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but by your wiſdom you will be able ſtill to do it. As to the members of parliament, I confeſs the greateſt difficulty lies there, your commiſſion being from them, and they being acknowledged the ſupreme power of the nation, ſubject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them. Yet, I am ſure your excellency will not look upon them as generally deprav'd: too many of them are much to blame in thoſe things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have paſſed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a deciſion."

The lord-general reply'd, "There is little hopes of a good ſettlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will deſtroy again what the Lord hath done graciouſly for them and us. We all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confuſion; and theſe men will help it on, if they be ſuffered to proceed in their ways; ſome courſe muſt be thought on to curb and reſtrain them, or we ſhall be ruined by them."

Upon this Whitelock ſaid, "We ourſelves have acknowledged them the ſupreme power, and taken our commiſſions and authority in the higheſt concernments from them; and how to reſtrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it."

The general then put this ſhort queſtion to Whitelock, "What if a man ſhould take upon him to be king?" Whitelock ſaid, "He thought that the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe:" And the general aſking him, "Why he thought ſo," he proceeded: "As to your own perſon, the title of king would be of no advantage, becauſe you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general: as to the nomination of civil of-

ficers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſed; and altho' you have no negative vote in the paſſing of laws, yet what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; and the taxes are already ſettled, and in your power to diſpoſe the money raiſed. And as to foreign affairs, tho' the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad ſucceſs in it, is from your excellency; and particular ſollicitations of foreign miniſters are made to you only. So that I apprehend indeed leſs envy, and danger, and pomp, but no leſs power and real opportunities of doing good in your being general, than would be if you had aſſumed the title of king."

Cromwell replied, "I have heard ſome of your profeſſion obſerve, that whoever is actually king by election, the acts done by him are as lawful and juſtifiable, as if done by a king, who had the crown by inheritance; and that by an act of parliament in king Henry the ſeventh's reign, it was ſafer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power.

Whitelock agreed to the legality, but much doubted the expediency of it; and being aſked, "What danger he apprehended in taking this title," he anſwered, "The danger I think would be this: one of the main points of controverſy betwixt us and our adverſaries, is, Whether the government of this nation ſhall be eſtabliſhed in monarchy, or in a free ſtate or commonwealth? And moſt of our friends have engaged with us, upon the hopes of having the government ſettled in a free ſtate, and to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being perſuaded (though I think much miſtaken) that under the government of a commonwealth, they ſhall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their ſpiritual and civil concernments, than they ſhall under monarchy, the preſſures and diſlike whereof are ſo freſh in their memories and ſufferings. Now if your excellency ſhall take upon you the title of king, this ſtate of your cauſe will be thereby wholly determined.

mind, and monarchy eſtabliſhed in your perſon; and the queſtion will be no more, whether our government ſhall be by a monarch or by a free ſtate, but, whether Cromwell or Stuart ſhall be our king and monarch. And that queſtion, wherein before ſo great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was univerſal, will by this means become in effect a private controverſy only; before it was national, what kind of government we ſhould have; now it will become particular, who ſhall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus the ſtate of our controverſy being totally changed, all thoſe who were for a commonwealth (and they are a very great and conſiderable party) having their hopes therein fruſtrated, will deſert you; your hands will be weakened, your intereſt ſtreightened, and your cauſe in apparent danger to be ruined."

The general here acknowledged that Whitelock ſpoke reaſon, and aſk'd him, "What other thing he could propound, that might obviate the preſent dangers and difficulties, wherein they were all involv'd." Whitelock confeſs'd, it would be the greateſt difficulty to find out ſuch an expedient; but ſaid, he had ſome things in his private thoughts upon this matter, which he fear'd were not fit or ſafe for him to communicate. But upon the general's preſſing him to diſſolve them, and promiſing there ſhould be no prejudice come to him by any private diſcourſe betwixt them, and aſſuring him, he ſhould never betray his friend, and that he ſhould take kindly whatever he ſhould offer; Whitelock began thus: "Give me leave then firſt to conſider your excellency's condition. You are invironed with ſecret enemies. Upon your ſubduing the publick enemy, the officers of your army account themſelves all victors, and to have had an equal ſhare in the conqueſt with you. The ſucceſs which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their minds, and many of them are buſy, and of turbulent ſpirits, and are not without their deſigns how

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they may dismount your excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; how they may bring you down, and set up themselves. They want not counsel and encouragement herein, it may be, from some members of the parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time over-master them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings."

The general upon this thanked Whitelock for so fully considering his condition: "It is, said he, a testimony of your love to me and care of me, and you have rightly consider'd it; and I may say, without vanity, that in my condition yours is involv'd and all our friends, and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage, by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?"

Whitelock then proceeded: "Pardon me, Sir, in the next place a little to consider the condition of the king of Scots. This prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduc'd to a very low condition, both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their lost hopes may be reviv-ed of his being restored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends, and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends; you may put such limits to monarchical power, as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continue in yourself, and whom

whom you ſhall agree upon after you. I propound therefore for your excellency to ſend to the king of Scots, and have a private treaty with him for that purpoſe."

The general hereupon told him, he thought he had much reaſon for what he propounded: But, ſaid he, it is a matter of ſo high importance and difficulty, that it deſerves more time of conſideration and debate, than is at preſent allowed us: we ſhall therefore take a farther time to diſcourſe of it.

Whitelock ſays, "With this the general broke off, and went to other company, and ſo into Whitehall, ſeeming by his countenance and carriage diſpleaſed with what I had ſaid. Yet he never objected it againſt me in any publick meeting afterwards: only his carriage towards me from that time was altered, and his adviſing with me not ſo frequent and intimate as before.

## No. IV.

IN the inſtrument of government, ſubſcribed the ſixteenth of December 1653, by Cromwell when he was lord protector, it was declared that the members for the future be thus elected, to the end that the kingdom might be more equally repreſented.

Bedford, county 3, town 1.
Berks, county 5, Abingdon 1, Reading 1.
Bucks, county 5, Buckingham 1, Aileſbury 1, Wicomb 1.
Cambridge, county 4, Iſle of Ely 2, Cambridge, town 1, Univerſity 1.
Cheſter, county 4, city 1.
Cornwall, county 8, Launceſton 1, Truro 1, Penryn 1, Eaſtlow and Weſtlow 1.
Cumberland county 2, Carliſle 1.

Derby,

Derby, county 4, town 1.
Devon, county 11, Exeter 2, Plymouth 2, Dartmouth, Clifton and Harderneſs 1, Totneſs 1, Tiverton 1, Honiton 1.
Dorſet, county 6, Dorcheſter 1, Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis 1, Lyme-Regis 1, Pool 1.
Durham, county 2, city 1.
Eſſex, county 13, Malden 1, Colcheſter 2.
Glouceſter, county 5, city 2, Tewkſbury 1, Cirenceſter 1.
Hereford, county 4, city 1, Lempſter 1.
Hertford, county 5, town 1, St. Albans 1.
Huntingdon, county 3, town 1.
Kent, county 11, Canterbury 2, Rocheſter 1, Maidſtone 1, Dover 1, Sandwich 1, Queenborough 1.
Lancaſter, county 4, town 1, Preſton 1, Liverpool 1, Manchester 1.
Leiceſter, county 4, town 2.
Lincoln, county 10, city 2, Boſton 1, Grantham 1, Stamford 1, Great Grimſby 1.
Middleſex, county 4, London 6, Weſtminſter 2,
Monmouth, county 3.
Norfolk, county 10, Norwich 2, Lynn 2, Yarmouth 2.
Northampton, county 6, town 1, Peterborough 1.
Nottingham, county 4, town 2.
Northumberland, county 3, Newcaſtle 1, Berwick 1.
Oxon, county 5, city 1, univerſity 1, Woodſtock 1.
Rutland, county 2.
Salop, county 4, Shrewſbury 2, Bridgenorth 1, Ludlow 1.
Stafford, county 3, town 1, Litchfield 1, Newcaſtle 1.
Somerſet, county 11, Briſtol 2, Taunton 2, Bath 1, Wells 1, Bridgewater 1.
Southampton, county 8, town 1, Wincheſter 1, Portſmouth 1, Wight Iſle 2, Andover 1.
Suffolk, county 10, Ipſwich 2, Bury St. Edmonds 2, Dunwich 1, Sudbury 1.
Surry, county 6, Southwark 2, Guildford 1, Rygate 1.
Suſſex, county 9, Chicheſter 1, Lewes 1, Eaſt-Grimſtead 1, Arundel 1, Rye 1.

Weſtmore-

Weſtmoreland, county 2.
Warwick, county 4, town 1, Coventry 2.
Worceſter, county 5, city 2.
Wells, county 10, New Sarum 2, Marlborough 1, Devizes 2.
York, Weſt-riding 6, Eaſt-riding 4, North-riding 4, city 2, Hull 1, Beverley 1, Scarborough 1, Richmond 1. Leeds 1, Hallifax 1.
Angleſea, county 2.
Brecon, county 2.
Cardigan, county 2.
Caermarthen, county 2.
Denbigh, county 2.
Flint, county 2.
Glamorgan, county 2, Cardiffe 1.
Merioneth, county 1.
Montgomery, county 2.
Pembroke, county 3, Haverford Weſt 1.
Radnor, county 2.

## No. II.

A Debate between the committee of the houſe of commons in 1657, and O. Cromwell, upon the humble petition and advice of the parliament, by which he was deſired to aſſume the title of KING.

ON April the 11th, [according to Whitelock, on the 4th] the protector was attended by the committee, appointed by the parliament, to receive and anſwer his doubts and ſcruples relating to their requeſt and advice, that he would aſſume the title of king; but the protector being unwilling to diſcloſe his own ſentiments till he was informed of the reaſons by which the parliament had been determined, the following arguments were offered by the committee, which

which conſiſted of 100 members; thoſe who were deputed to treat on this ſubject, being,

Oliver St. John, lord chief juſtice.
Lord chief juſtice Glynne.
Mr. Whitelock, one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury.
Mr. Liſle, Mr. Fines, } Commiſſioners of the great ſeal.
Lord Broghill.
Sir Charles Wolſeley.
Sir Richard Onſlow.
Colonel Jones.

N. B. We have taken their arguments in one ſeries or diſcourſe, as they are given by a modern compiler; the whole debate, as it was printed in 1660, being ſo tedious and intricate, that it would rather tire than entertain the reader, unleſs he were more than ordinarily curious to know what was ſaid on ſo unprecedented a ſubject.

May it pleaſe your highneſs,

IT is with great ſatisfaction, that we ſee ourſelves deputed by the parliament to confer with your highneſs, upon the ſettlement of the publick tranquility, and the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form of government as may beſt promote the great ends for which government was inſtituted, for which we have been ſo long labouring, and for which we have hazarded our fortunes and our lives. We doubt not of finding your highneſs ready to concur in any lawful meaſures, that can contribute to the happineſs of the publick, to the pacification of thoſe differences that have ſo divided them, and to the perpetuity of that freedom which has been ſo dearly purchaſed, and ſo ſucceſsfully defended. And we cannot forbear to inform you that, in our opinion, in the opinion of the parliament, and of

of the people who are repreſented by it, theſe purpoſes cannot be effectually proſecuted by your highneſs without aſſuming not the office only, but the title likewiſe of king.

Your highneſs may demand why, having already made you protector, inveſted you with the office of chief magiſtrate, and intruſted you with the care of our liberties, our commerce, and our honour, we are now grown weary of our inſtitution, and deſire to reſtore a title, which a long ſeries of wicked adminiſtration has made it proper to abrogate? to this we can eaſily anſwer, that our requeſt is the requeſt of the people, the people whoſe intereſt is chiefly to be conſidered, and to whom it is your higheſt honour to be a faithful ſervant. That they have a right to judge for themſelves, to promote their own happineſs by their own meaſures, and to diſtinguiſh their ſervants by what name or titles they ſhall judge moſt proper, cannot be denied. Monarchy has always been thought by this nation the moſt eligible form of government, and the title of KING has been always conſidered by them as eſſential to it. The office has never been complained of, nor the title changed, even by thoſe parliaments that have made the ſtricteſt enquiries into the defects of our conſtitution, and have had power to reform whatever they diſliked. The office in general was always regarded as uſeful and neceſſary, and the title was reverenced, when the conduct of him that held it was condemned. It is never prudent to make needleſs alterations, becauſe we are already acquainted with all the conſequences of known eſtabliſhments and antient forms; but new methods of adminiſtration may produce evils which the moſt prudent cannot foreſee, nor the moſt diligent rectify. But leaſt of all are ſuch changes to be made as draw after them the neceſſity of endleſs alterations, and extend their effects through the whole frame of government.

That the change of the title KING to that of PROTECTOR, or any other, would affect the remoteſt

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links of ſubordination, and alter the whole conſtitution, is evident, at the moſt ſuperficial and tranſient view of the laws and cuſtoms of the nation. Every officer of juſtice acts in the king's name, and by the king's authority, an authority that gives life and efficacy to law, and makes every ſentence valid and binding. In all criminal caſes the law knows not any proſecutor but the king, nor can inflict any puniſhment but in his name.

If it be urged, that the judges have already taken their commiſſions in the name of the lord protector, and ſuppoſed his authority and that of the king to be the ſame, let it be remembered that the judges themſelves were far from concurring in their opinions; they whoſe province is to juſtify the proceedings of the government to the people, were not ſatisfied themſelves, and even thoſe that complied with leaſt reluctance pleaded rather the reſiſtleſs force of neceſſity, than the authority of law or the evidence of reaſon; and let us not reduce our judges to ſay, when either the captious or conſcientious enquirer ſhall demand the reaſons of their conduct, that they act not as they ought but as they muſt.

In deſiring you to aſſume this title, the parliament has regard not only to conſcience but prudence, not only to the people's happineſs but to your ſafety. The office of protector is new and unheard of till now, and by conſequence unknown to the law, nor underſtood with regard to its relation to other parts of the conſtitution; ſo that neither the duties of the protector are known by the people, nor thoſe of the people by the protector: ſuch ignorance and uncertainty can produce nothing but diſputes, murmurs, and confuſions.

The knowledge of our duty is neceſſarily previous to the practice of it, and how can any man know his duty to a magiſtrate to whoſe authority he is a ſtranger? The limits of obedience to a protector are ſettled by no law, nor is there any ſtatute in being that condemns any attempt to ſhake off his authority. For this reaſon it is not without long heſitation and

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importunate perſuaſion, that juries are prevailed upon to aſſign the name, and fix the guilt of treaſon to any conſpiracies againſt your life or government. The king's authority is ſupported by the law, and his perſon is exempt from violation; but the protector's office has no ſuch ſanction, and his power may therefore be, if not juſtly, yet legally reſiſted; nor is his perſon ſecured any otherwiſe than that of the meaneſt ſubject.

The protector is indeed, in a ſtate of greater difficulty and embarraſſment than any other member of the community: he is obliged to obey the laws, but with regard to his office is not protected by them; he is reſtrained by the law from any exorbitant exertions of power, but not ſupported by it in the due exerciſe of his authority: thoſe who act by the protector's commiſſion, can receive from him no other power than ſuch as he is inveſted with, a power which the laws of the nation, thoſe laws which on all occaſions every man muſt appeal, diſavow, and reject. So that no man can be obliged by law to admit the determinations of the courts as obligatory and concluſive; and how great the number is of thoſe who deny any moral or conſcientious reaſon for obedience to the preſent government, your highneſs needs not to be informed. Theſe men, however at preſent ſubjected, are at leaſt formidable by their multitudes, and it is always more eligible to procure a chearful and willing, than conſtrain an involuntary and reluctant obedience. All theſe men allow the authority of regal government, and profeſs their willingneſs to ſubmit to it; ſo that all opinions unite in this point, and all parties concur to make a compliance with this requeſt neceſſary to your highneſs.

Nor is it only for your own ſake that this deſire is warmly preſs'd, but for the ſecurity of thoſe whoſe endeavours have contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the preſent government, or ſhall hereafter act by your authority. All thoſe who receive commiſſions from the king, by whatever means exalted to the throne, are

are ſecured from proſecution and puniſhment in any change of affairs, by the ſtatute of the eleventh year of Henry the ſeventh; but the name of protector can confer no ſuch ſecurity, and therefore the cautious and vigilant will always decline your ſervice, or proſecute your affairs with diffidence and timidity, even the honeſt and ſcrupulous will be fearful of engaging where they have nothing but their own opinion to ſet in ballance againſt the law; and the artful and the avaricious, the diſcontented and the turbulent, will never ceaſe to contrive a revolution by which they may revenge the wrongs that they imagine themſelves to have received, and riot in the ſpoils of their enemies.

The preſent alienation of the crown of theſe realms from him who pretends to claim them by his birth, may be compared to a divorce, which may, by the mutual conſent of both parties, be ſet aſide. It is therefore neceſſary, to prevent any future reunion, that the crown be conſigned to another.

Were the reaſons for your aſſumption of this title leſs weighty than they appear, the deſire of parliament ought to add to their efficacy. It is not to be conceived that we are able to aſſign all the arguments that might be formed by the united and concurrent wiſdom of ſo numerous and diſcerning an aſſembly, an aſſembly deputed by the whole people to judge and act for them. The deſires of a parliament are never to be conſidered as ſudden ſtarts of imagination, or to be rejected as trivial, or unworthy of conſideration: the deſire of the parliament, is the voice of the people: nor can it, indeed, be now diſregarded, without breaking all the rules of policy, and neglecting the firſt opportunity of reinſtating the nation in tranquillity. The parliament, the only authority which the nation reverences, has now firſt attempted to eſtabliſh a legal and ſettled government, by conferring on your highneſs the title of KING, which you therefore cannot refuſe without encouraging the enemies of our government, by ſhowing not only, that the chief magiſtrate of the nation bears a title unknown to the law,

law, but even ſuch as is diſproved by the parliament, that parliament which himſelf called.

But the parliament is far from deſiring that their authority alone ſhould enforce their deſire, for which they have ſo many and ſo ſtrong reaſons to alledge; nor are their own reaſons alone to be conſidered, but the authority of all former parliaments, who have ever been to the laſt degree cautious of admitting the leaſt change in any thing that related to the conſtituent part of our government.

When king James, after his acceſſion to the crown of England, was deſirous of changing his title to that of king of Great Britain, the parliament refuſed to admit any alteration in the regal ſtile; not that they diſcovered any apparent ill conſequences ariſing from it, but becauſe they did not know how far it might affect the conſtitution, nor to what farther alterations it might make way.

In the late parliament, when it was propoſed that the name of parliament ſhould be changed to that of repreſentative of the people, the propoſal was for the ſame reaſon diſapproved. "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari" was a fixed principle of the antient barons, and certainly nothing can ſhew greater weakneſs than to change without proſpect of advantage. Long preſcription is a ſufficient argument in favour of a practice againſt which nothing can be alledged; nor is it ſufficient to affirm that the change may be made without inconvenience, for change itſelf is an evil, and ought to be balanced by ſome equivalent advantage, and bad conſequences may ariſe, though we do not foreſee them.

But the conſequences of the change now propoſed are neither remote nor doubtful; by ſubſtituting the name and office of protector in the place of thoſe of king, we ſhall immediately alarm the people, we ſhall awaken the jealouſy of the wiſe, and the fears of the timorous; there will be indeed ſome reaſons for apprehenſion and ſuſpicion, which deſigning men will not fail to exaggerate for their own purpoſes. The

firſt queſtion that will naturally ariſe will be, what is this new office of protector, upon what law is it founded, and what are the limits of his authority? To theſe enquiries what anſwer can be returned? Shall it be ſaid that his authority is independent, abſolute, and unlimited? Where then is the liberty for which the wiſeſt and beſt men of this nation has been ſo long contending? What is the advantage of all our battles and all our victories? If we ſay that the authority of the protector is bounded by the laws, how ſhall we prove the aſſertion? What law ſhall we be able to cite, by which the duties of the protector to the people, or thoſe of the people to the protector, are marked out.

This then is the great reaſon upon which the parliament have made their requeſt. The people are to be governed according to the law, and the law acknowledges no ſupreme magiſtrate but the KING. It is neceſſary to the good adminiſtration of the ſtate, that the duty both of governors and ſubjects ſhould be known, limited, and ſtated, that neither the governors may oppreſs the people, nor the people rebel againſt the governors: the parliament therefore deſires that the office and title of KING may be reſtored as they are underſtood in their whole extent, and in all their relations. Every man is well informed when the king acts in conformity to the law, and when he tranſgreſſes the limits of his authority. But of the power of the protector they know nothing, and therefore will ſuſpect every thing: nor indeed can their ſuſpicions be reaſonably cenſured; for till they are informed what are the claims of this new magiſtrate, how can they know their own rights?

If your highneſs ſhould injure, or oppreſs any man, to what law can he appeal? He may, indeed, diſcover that the king could not have attacked his property, but will never be able to prove that the protector is ſubject to the ſame reſtraint; ſo that neither your highneſs is protected by the law when you do right, nor the ſubject redreſſed if you ſhould do wrong.

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The end for which monarchy has been for ſome time ſuſpended, is the happineſs of the people, and this end can only be attained by reviving it. The queſtion may indeed be brought to a ſhort iſſue, for either the office of protector is the ſame with that of KING, or ſomething different from it; if it be the ſame, let us not be ſo weak as to impoſe upon ourſelves, or ſo diſhoneſt as to endeavour to deceive others, by rejecting the name while we retain the thing; let not an averſion to an idle ſound, to a name reverenced by the people, and approved by the parliament, incite you to reject the petition of the whole nation, to raiſe difficulties in the diſtribution of juſtice, and awaken themſelves in the minds of all thoſe who attend more to names than things, who will always be the greateſt number, and whoſe ſatisfaction ought therefore to be endeavoured by all lawful compliances.

It is a certain truth, that old inſtitutions are, merely becauſe they are old, preferable to new plans, in their nature equally good; becauſe a very ſmall part of mankind judges from any other principles than cuſtom, and it will be long before new titles attract their regard, eſteem, and veneration.

But if the office of protector be not only in its denomination, but in nature alſo, abſolutely new, we are then yet in a ſtate of uncertainty, confuſion, and miſery: we have the bounds of his authority to ſettle, the rights of parliament to ſtate, all our laws to new-model, and our whole ſyſtem of government to conſtitute afreſh. An endleſs and inſuperable taſk, from which we intreat your highneſs to exempt us, by aſſuming, according to the advice of parliament, the office and title of KING.

The

The protector having desired some time to consider the arguments that had been offered, returned on April the 13th (the 7th, as may be collected from Whitelock) his answer to this effect.

My lord,

THOUGH I am far from imagining myself qualified to controvert a question of so great importance, with the learned members of this committee, especially as the arguments have been founded chiefly upon the laws and antient constitution of this nation, with which I have had no opportunity to be well acquainted; yet since it may be reasonably required of me either to yield to your reasons, or to assign the difficulties and objections that hinder me from yielding, I shall attempt to consider and discuss them diligently and distinctly.

It has been urged, with great appearance of strength, that the title of KING is the only title by which the laws acknowledge the chief magistrate of this nation; that the title cannot be changed without supposing a change in the office; and that a change in the office would be a dangerous innovation, productive of debate, jealousy, and suspicion; that the limits of this new-erected authority would be unknown to the people, as being unsettled by the law; that the people are best pleased with institutions which they have long known; and that therefore it would neither contibute to the publick happiness, nor to our own security, to obtrude upon the nation titles and offices either new in reality or in appearance.

The apprehension that the parliaments have always expressed of changes and innovations, has been made appear by two remarkable instances; and to shew the necessity of restoring the title of KING it has been alledged, that not only the dangers and discontents that novelty produces will be escaped by it; but that both the chief magistrate, and those that act by his authority,

rity, will be more effectually protected by the laws of the nation.

These are the chief arguments that have dwelt upon my memory. Arguments doubtless of force, and such as do not admit of an easy confutation, but which, however, in my opinion, prove rather the expediency than necessity of reviving monarchy under its antient title, and as such I shall consider them; for where absolute inevitable necessity is contended for, the controversy will be very short; absolute necessity will soon appear by the impossibility of shewing any method of avoiding it; and where any expedient may be proposed that may probably produce the same effects, necessity vanishes at once. Very few actions are really necessary; most of them are only expedient, or comparatively preferable to other measures that may be taken. Where there is room for comparisons, there is room for diversity of opinions.

That the title of king is not necessary, how long soever it may have been in use, or what regard soever may have been paid it, is plain from the very nature of language; words have not their import from the natural power of particular combinations of characters, or from the real efficacy of certain sounds, but from the consent of those that use them, and arbitrarily annex certain ideas to them, which might have been signified with equal propriety by any other. Whoever originally distinguished the chief magistrate by the appellation of king, might have assigned him any other denomination, and the power of the people can never be lost or impaired. If that might once have been done, it may be done now; for surely words are of no other value than their significations; and the name of king can have no other use than any other word of the same import.

That the law may be as regularly executed, and as chearfully obey'd, though the name of king be entirely rejected, is, in my opinion, plain, from the experience both of the time in which I have administred the government, and of that when the execution

of the laws was intruſted to the (cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ) keepers of the liberty of England, in which juſtice has been as regularly, as equally, and as expeditiouſly diſtributed, as in the happieſt days of the moſt celebrated kings. The judges did, indeed, hesitate for ſome time about the legality of their commiſſions, but a ſhort deliberation freed them from their doubts; and certainly their authority ought to be of weight, as they have been excelled by none of their predeceſſors in learning or abilities.

That I have never interrupted the courſe of juſtice, all the judges can atteſt, and I believe, affirm with equal confidence, that it has not been more obſtructed by any other impediment than in former times; ſo that the title of KING appears by no means neceſſary to the efficacy of the law.

Such obedience has been paid to the ſupreme magiſtracy under two different denominations, neither of which were eſtabliſhed by a parliamentary ſanction; and why ſhould we imagine any other title would obtain leſs regard, when confirmed by the power to which the title that you now contend for owes its validity?

There was once a time when every office, and the title annexed to that office, was newly invented and introduced; from what did it derive its legality, and its importance, at its firſt introduction, but from general conſent? The great, the binding, the inviolable law, is the conſent of the people: without this nothing is right, and ſupported by this nothing can be wrong. Antiquity adds nothing to this great ſanction, nor can novelty take away its authority. What is now determined by the people, or by their proper repreſentatives, is of equal validity with the earlieſt inſtitutions; and whether they will be governed by a ſupreme magiſtrate under the title of KING, or any other, the government is equally lawful.

As therefore neither reaſon nor experience can prove, that this title is abſolutely eſſential to the due adminiſtration of juſtice, it is proper to enquire how far it

may

convenient, what proportions of advantage or [illegible]t will ariſe from it. In this inquiry I hope [illegible] the honeſty of my intentions, and the purity of [illegible]eart, will not be miſtaken. I hope that neither [illegible]ypocriſy nor artifice will be imputed to my open declarations, and ſincere profeſſions; declarations and profeſſions which I make not haſtily and negligently, but with care, reflection, and deliberate caution, in the preſence of the Almighty power, by whoſe providence I have been guided, and in whoſe preſence I ſtand. I hope it will not be imagined, that I reject the title of KING from fondneſs for that of protector, a name and an office to which I was far from aſpiring, and which I only did not refuse when it was offered me: nor did I then accept it as imagining myſelf qualified to govern others, who find it ſufficiently difficult to regulate my own conduct, nor even from a confidence, that I ſhould be able much to benefit the nation; the only motive by which I was induced to engage in ſo arduous and invidious an employment, was the deſire of obviating thoſe evils which I ſaw impending over the nation, and to prevent the revival of thoſe diſputes in which ſo much blood had been already ſhed, and which muſt inevitably involve us in endleſs confuſion.

Having theſe proſpects before me, I thought it not lawful to reject an opportunity of preventing calamities, even when there was no hope of promoting happineſs; I therefore could not but accept, what at the ſame time I could not ardently deſire. For nothing can deſerve to be purſued with eagerneſs and aſſiduity but the power of doing good, of conferring real and ſolid benefits upon mankind. And ſurely, while the only end for which greatneſs and authority are deſired, is publick good, thoſe deſires are at leaſt lawful, and perhaps worthy of applauſe; they are certainly lawful, if he that entertains them has, by a long and diligent examination of his own heart, an examination ſerious and ſincere, without any of thoſe fallacious arts by which the conſcience is too frequently deceived,

ſatisfied himſelf that his ultimate views are [redacted] own honour or intereſt, but the welfare of mankind the promotion of virtue, and that his advancement will contribute to them.

Having informed you by what means I was raiſed to the protectorſhip, and for what reaſons I accepted it, I may properly proceed to deliver my own ſentiments of the office in which I have engaged, that it may appear, from my own notions of my preſent ſituation, how little it can be preferred by me, on account of any perſonal views, to that which the parliament now offers; and that whatever arguments I ſhall make uſe of in this queſtion are not dictated by private intereſt, but by a ſincere and unfeigned regard for the happineſs of the nation.

I have often conſidered, with a degree of attention ſuitable to the importance of the inquiry, what is the nature of my preſent office, and what is the purpoſe which I am principally to have in view; and could never attain to any farther determination than that I was the chief conſtable of the nation, and was intruſted with the care of the publick peace. This truſt I have endeavoured faithfully to diſcharge, and have been ſo far ſucceſsful, that peace has never been long interrupted; and whatever miſeries have been feared or felt, we have enjoy'd the bleſſing of quiet; a bleſſing, in my opinion, too valuable to be hazarded by any unneceſſary or inconſiderate innovations, and for the ſake of which I think it therefore neceſſary to decline the title which is now offered me.

This argument will not, perhaps, be immediately underſtood; nor is it eaſy for me to make it intelligible without giving an account of ſome paſt tranſactions, too long to be excuſed but by the importance of the ſubject.

At the beginning of the late war between the king and parliament, I obſerved that in all encounters the royaliſts prevailed, and our men, though ſuperior in number, or other advantages, were ſhamefully routed, diſperſed, and ſlaughtered; and diſcourſing upon this

ſubject

ſubject with my worthy friend Mr. John Hampden, a name to be remembered by moſt of you with reverence, I told him, that this calamity, formidable as it was, admitted, in my opinion, of a remedy, and that by a proper choice of ſoldiers the ſtate of the war might ſoon be changed. You are, ſays I, in comparing our forces with thoſe of the enemy, to regard, in the firſt place, the difference between their education and habitual ſentiments. Our followers are, for the moſt part, the gleanings of the loweſt rank of the people, ſervingmen diſcarded, and mechanics without employments, men uſed to inſults and ſervility from their cradles, without any principles of honour, or incitements to overbalance the ſenſe of immediate danger. Their army is crouded with men whoſe profeſſion is courage, who have been by their education fortified againſt cowardice, and have been eſteemed throughout their lives in proportion to their bravery. All their officers are men of quality, and their ſoldiers the ſons of gentlemen, men animated by a ſenſe of reputation, who had rather die than ſupport the ignominy of having turned their backs. Can it be ſuppoſed, that education has no force, and that principles exert no influence upon actions? Can men that fight only for pay, without any ſenſe of honour from conqueſt, or diſgrace from being overcome, withſtand the charge of gentlemen, of men that act upon principles of honour, and confirm themſelves and each other in their reſolutions by reaſon and reflection? To motives ſuch as theſe, what can be oppoſed by our men that may exalt them to the ſame degree of gallantry, and animate them with the ſame contempt of danger and of death? Zeal for religion is the only motive more active and powerful than theſe, and that is in our power to inculcate. Let us chuſe men warm with regard for their religion, men who ſhall think it an high degree of impiety to fly before the wicked and profane, to forſake the cauſe of heaven, and prefer ſafety to truth; and our enemies will quickly be ſubdued.

This advice was not otherways diſapproved than as

difficult to be put in execution. This difficulty I imagined myself in some degree able to surmount, and applied all my industry to levy such men as were animated with the zeal of religion, and to inflame their fervour: nor did the effect deceive my expectation; for when these men were led to the field, no veterans could stand before them, no obstructions could retard, or danger affright them; and to these men are to be attributed the victories that we have gained, and the peace that we enjoy.

Of this account there may be many uses: it may contribute to confirm us in our perseverance in this cause, that it has hitherto succeeded by the endeavours of good men; it may tend to the confirmation of religious men in their purposes of an holy life, that those principles are more efficacious and powerful than any other: but with regard to the present dispute, I mean only to observe how highly these men are to be valued, how much of our regard they may justly claim, and how weak it would be to alienate them from us by reviving a title which they have been taught to abhor.

It may be urged, that to refuse obedience to lawful authority, under whatsoever name, is not consistent with the character of piety; and that to abhor the title and office of KING, the title lawfully conferred, and the office justly administred, is not so much religion as prejudice, and rather folly than conscience. Nor can I deny either of these assertions; I am far from thinking it lawful to with-hold obedience from lawful government, and freely confess, that to reverence or detest a mere name is equally weak. And I am confident, that those good men of whom I have been speaking, will obey the legislative power, by what title soever exercised; and with regard to their scruples, however unreasonable, it is my opinion, that they who have done and suffered so much, deserve that some indulgence should be shewed, even to their weakness, and that they should not be grieved with imaginary hardships, or perplexed with tormenting scruples without necessity: their readiness to comply with authority is a plea for tenderness and regard,

regard, which will contribute to unite their endeavours with theirs, for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe who ſeem to look upon it as their duty to oppoſe all government, and whoſe opinions lead them to imagine all human authority impious and deteſtable.

The reaſon for which theſe men will be offended at the revival of the title and office of KING, a reaſon which, I confeſs, has ſome weight with me, and may, perhaps, more ſtrongly affect weaker minds, if any ſuch there are, is this: We are, indeed, principally to conſult the ſcriptures as the rule of our conſciences, but we are likewiſe to have regard to the viſible hand of God, and the diſpenſations of providence, by which the ſcripture may be often very clearly and uſefully explained: in theſe explications, indeed, we may eaſily be deceived; and therefore ought not to depend upon them with a preſumptuous degree of confidence, but to uſe them with caution, modeſty, and a careful attention to every circumſtance that may rectify our miſtakes; but we certainly ought not to paſs great events over without reflection, obſervation, or regard.

When, in conformity to this rule, I conſider the late revolution that has happened in this nation, and ſee that not only the royal family is ſubdued and exiled, but the name and title eradicated by the providence of God, it appears in me no leſs than preſumption to attempt to reſtore it. How juſt theſe proceedings were with regard to thoſe that tranſacted them, I am not now to diſpute; nor need I ſay how I would act, were the ſame circumſtances to recur: I only deſire you to remember, that neither by me, nor by thoſe who inveſted me with this authority, was the title aboliſhed, but by the long parliament. It is ſufficient for my purpoſe to remark, that the title was not laid aſide by caprice, or accidental diſguſt, but after ten years war, by long and ſober deliberation; and what is this leſs than the hand of God? When I ſee that by theſe inſtruments of vengeance he has not only expelled the family, but blaſted the title; would not an attempt to reſtore it be like an endeavour to build up Jericho, to defeat the de-

ſigns of providence, and oppoſe the great Ruler of the univerſe?

Theſe are the reaſons for which I think the office, and title of KING neither neceſſary nor expedient: whether they ought to convince you I am not able to determine, nor wiſh they ſhould have any force which their own weight does not give them. In the deſire of a firm and ſettled form of government, the great end for which this propoſal is made, I concur with the parliament, and hope that no reaſons or reſolutions of mine will in the leaſt tend to obſtruct it; for a firm and legal eſtabliſhment, as it is the only method by which happineſs and liberty can be ſecured, is equally the concern of every wiſe and honeſt man, and whoever oppoſes it, deſerves nothing leſs than to be mark'd out as an enemy to his country. I would not wiſh, that this great deſign ſhould be fruſtrated by a compliance with my inclinations; for ſettlement and order are ſurely neceſſary, whether royalty be neceſſary or not: whatever may contribute to this, I intreat you ſteadily to purſue: nor ſhould I adviſe even to deny that gratification to the particular prejudices or paſſions of private men, that may ſecure their affections to good for the advancement of it. For my part, could I multiply my perſon, or dilate my power, I ſhould dedicate myſelf wholly to this great end, in the proſecution of which I ſhall implore the bleſſing of God upon your counſels and endeavours.

On the 13th of April (according to Whitelock), the committee attended the protector, and offered the following reply.

AS the requeſt of the parliament is of too great importance to be either granted or refuſed without long deliberation, we have thought it neceſſary to attend your highneſs a ſecond time, that this great queſtion, after having been on both ſides attentively conſider'd, may at laſt be diligently diſcuſs'd, and determin'd with that caution which is always to be uſed, while

where the happineſs and tranquillity of the public is evidently concern'd.

That the title of KING is not abſolutely and phyſically neceſſary to government, will be readily admitted; for, if government can ſubſiſt an hour, or a day, without it; no man can affirm that it is abſolutely neceſſary. Neceſſity in this ſenſe has no place in political tranſactions. Laws themſelves are not abſolutely neceſſary; the will of the prince may ſupply them, and the wiſdom and vigilance of a good prince make a people happy without them. Natural neceſſity allows no room for diſputation, being always evident beyond controverſy, and powerful beyond reſiſtance. Therefore in all debates of this kind, by neceſſity, moral neceſſity is to be underſtood, which is nothing more than a high degree of expedience, or inconteſtable reaſons of preference.

That the title of KING is in this ſenſe neceſſary to the government of theſe nations, may perhaps be proved; but an attempt to prove it ſeems in the preſent ſtate of the queſtion ſuperfluous, becauſe the requeſt of the parliament is in itſelf a reaſon ſufficient to overbalance all that has been urged in oppoſition to it. And it may therefore rather be requir'd of your highneſs to prove the neceſſity of rejecting that title which the whole people of England intreat you to accept.

For nothing leſs than neceſſity ought to be put in balance with the deſires of the whole people legally repreſented. But how can ſuch neceſſity be evinced? Or whence can it ariſe? That either monarchy, or any other form of government, is contrary to the revealed will of God, cannot be pretended. No kind of government is unlawful in its own nature, nor is any one dignified with a higher degree of the Divine approbation than another: political inſtitutions are like other contracts, in which ſuch ſtipulations are to be made as the contracting parties ſhall judge conducive to their happineſs, and they muſt therefore vary according to the various opinions of thoſe that make them: but

when made they are all obligatory and inviolable: There is therefore no neceſſity from the divine commands either of accepting this title, or refuſing it; there is nothing in the name of a king either ſacred, as ſome have had the weakneſs to aſſert, or profane, as others have imagined with no better reaſon. The neceſſity on either ſide muſt therefore be accidental, and ariſe from circumſtances and relations. And ſurely the preſcription of many hundred years, the authority of the law, and the approbation of the people, are circumſtances that will conſtitute the higheſt degree of political neceſſity.

That monarchy under the title of KING has all the ſanction that antiquity can give, is too evident for controverſy; but it may perhaps be queſtioned how far the ſanction of antiquity deſerves to be regarded. The long continuance of any practice, which might have been altered or diſuſed at pleaſure, is at leaſt a proof that no inconveniences have been found to ariſe from it; and a cuſtom not in itſelf detrimental becomes every day better eſtabliſhed, becauſe the other part of life will be regulated with relation to it, till what was merely arbitrary at firſt, appears in time eſſential and indiſpenſable. The nation might doubtleſs, when government was firſt inſtituted here, have choſen any other conſtitution no leſs lawfully than that of monarchy; but monarchy, either by deliberation or chance, was eſtabliſhed, and the laws have all been made in conſequence of that eſtabliſhment, and ſo ſtrongly connected with it, that they muſt ſtand or fall together. The king is obliged to act in conformity to the laws, and the law can only act by commiſſion from the king. The prerogative of our monarchs, and the authority of our laws, it has been already the taſk of ſeveral ages to regulate and aſcertain; a taſk which muſt be again begun, if the ſupreme magiſtrate has another title.

If it be urged, that this labour may be ſpared by one general act, declaring the power of the protector the ſame with that of our former kings, what then have we been

been contending for? A mere name! an empty ſound! yet a ſound of ſuch importance as to be preferred to the voice of the whole people. But this certainly will not be propoſed, becauſe if ſuch an act be public, all muſt be immediately convinced, that they are governed as before by a king; and therefore all objections to our antient conſtitution remain in their full ſtrength.

But indeed the long continuance of monarchy is an irrefragable proof, that in the opinion of the people there have hitherto ariſen no laſting or heavy calamities from it, and that therefore nothing can reaſonably be feared from reviving it, at leaſt nothing equivalent to the diſcontent that will be produced by a total alteration of our conſtitution, and the apprehenſions which a new power, or new title, muſt certainly create; a title of which the import is unknown, and a power of which the limits are unſettled.

Antiquity, which to the wiſe and inquiſitive is often only a proof of general approbation, becomes to the vulgar a foundation for reverence. Inſtitutions and cuſtoms are long continued becauſe they are good, and are reverenced becauſe they have been long continued. Thus the danger of changing them grows every day greater, as the real uſefulneſs is always the ſame, and the accidental eſteem of them is always increaſing. To ſhew how much this regard to antiquity contributes to the good order of the world, and how inevitably it ariſes from the preſent ſtate of things, is not at preſent requiſite; ſince experience may convince us of its influence, and the experience of our own times above any other, in which we have almoſt every day been changing the form of government, without having been able to ſatisfy either ourſelves or the people. Whether any of the ſchemes that have been tried, were in themſelves preferable to that of monarchy, it is difficult to determine; but this at leaſt is obvious, if they were not preferable, monarchy ought to be reſtored; and if they were, there needs no farther proof of the affection of the people to the antient conſtitution, ſince they would be content with no other, tho' of greater excellence;

cellence; but, after years ſpent in fruitleſs experiments, have returned back to monarchy with greater eagerneſs.

Nor was the diſapprobation of theſe new forms merely popular, but the reſult of long deliberation, and careful inquiry, in thoſe whoſe opinions ought moſt to be regarded in queſtions of this kind. Some of the judges themſelves, even of thoſe whoſe learning and integrity are above diſtruſt, refuſed to act by any other commiſſion than that of the king; and, as it was obſerved in our laſt conference, thoſe that complied, pleaded no other reaſon for their conduct, than neceſſity, a reaſon which can laſt no longer, ſince that neceſſity is now at an end.

Nor can it be wondered, that thoſe whoſe lives have been laid out upon the ſtudy of the laws, have conceived the ſtrongeſt ideas of the neceſſity of this title; a title ſuppoſed by the law ſo eſſential to our conſtitution, that the ceſſation of its influence, even for a few days, might ſubvert or endanger it, as the deſtruction of one of the elements would throw the natural world into confuſion. For this reaſon it is a fix'd principle, "That the king never dies," that the regal authority is never extinct, and that there has in effect been no more than one king ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of monarchy. For, during the time that the regal authority ſhould be ſuſpended, the law muſt ceaſe from its operations; no crime could be puniſhed, nor any queſtion of property be decided; all power to puniſh, and all authority to decide, being derived immediately from the king, whoſe office therefore cannot be abrogated: for no authority can be taken away but by a ſuperior power, and this nation has never known or acknowledged any power independent on that of the king. The authority of parliament, and the rights of the people, can boaſt no deeper foundation, or ſtronger eſtabliſhment. The power of parliament has no efficacy, but as it co-operates with that of the king, nor can one deſtroy the other without a general diſſolution of our government: theſe two concurrent powers are

the eſſential parts of our conſtitution, which, when either of them ſhall ceaſe, is equally deſtroyed.

Theſe conſiderations are ſurely ſufficient to vindicate the judges, whom it would be to the laſt degree unreaſonable to blame, for their ſteady adherence to the laws, which it is the buſineſs of their office to maintain; but it is not to be imagined, that the ſame motives influenced the bulk of the people to this general deſire, which was ſo apparently prevalent throughout the nation. General effects muſt have general cauſes, and nothing can influence the whole nation to demand the reſtoration of monarchy, but univerſal experience of the evils produced by rejecting it; evils too evident to be concealed, and too heavy to be borne. One of theſe, and perhaps not the leaſt, is the interruption of juſtice, which has not been adminiſtred but by the aſſiſtance of the army, the laſt expedient that ought to be made uſe of.

That the laws did not loſe more of their authority, and juſtice was not more evaded, is indeed not to be aſcribed to the forms of government which theſe years of diſtraction have produced, but to the care, integrity, and reputation of thoſe men in whoſe hands the great offices were placed: who were reverenced by the people on account of their own characters, rather than from any regard to the powers by whom they were commiſſioned; powers which yeſterday produced, and which were expected to periſh to-morrow. For every title, except that of KING, which antiquity had made venerable, is conſidered only as the iſſue of momentary caprice, and ſubject to be changed by the inconſtancy that erected it, as ſoon as any inconvenience ſhall be diſcovered to ariſe from it; becauſe what is raiſed by one act of parliament, may, by another, be deſtroyed, and ſuch alterations it is reaſonable to expect: for as no form of government is without its defects, while it remains part of every man's right to propoſe a new ſcheme, which he will always think more beneficial than any other, every man that has any real or fanſied amendments to offer, will be impatient till they

they have been try'd, and will endeavour to facilitate the reception of them, by exaggerating the disadvantages of the preſent plan, and heightening the diſcontents that ariſe from them. Thus ſhall we go on from change to change, from expedient to expedient. Thus ſhall we attempt to remove one evil by introducing another, and gain nothing by all our fatigues, perplexities, and ſufferings, but new conviction of the neceſſity of complying with the laws and the people.

It is indeed no great proof of regard to the nation, to deny any legal requeſt: perhaps more may be ſaid, without the leaſt deviation from truth and juſtice. The people, for whoſe ſake only government is conſtituted, have a right to ſettle the forms of it, and this petition is only an exertion of that natural privilege which cannot be forfeited. All government muſt derive its legality either from the choice of the people by whom it was eſtabliſhed, or from their conſent after its inſtitution: the preſent government was erected without their concurrence; and it is to be inquired, whether it be not now diſſolved by their petition to diſſolve it.

But whether this petition may be lawfully refuſed or not, prudence at leaſt requires that it be complied with; for it is abſolutely neceſſary to the happineſs of any adminiſtration, that the people love and eſteem their governors. The ſupreme magiſtrate muſt therefore aſſume the title of KING, for no title that has not the ſanction of the parliament, and is therefore ſubject to an immediate change, can be equally reverenced with that which has been eſtabliſhed by the approbation of many generations, the authority of many parliaments, and which the experience of the whole nation has proved to be without thoſe dangers that may be juſtly ſuſpected in any new inſtitution, which can never be conſider'd in its whole extent, or purſued to all its conſequences.

Nor can the nation in this demand be charged with inconſtancy in their reſolutions, or inconſiſtency in their conduct: for that the war was begun not againſt

the office of king, but againſt the perſon of him who was then inveſted with it, and diſcharged it in a manner contrary to the intention for which he was inveſted with it, is apparent from four declarations of parliament; nor is it leſs known that the firſt breach of unanimity amongſt the friends of liberty was produced by the abolition of this title, and may therefore be probably repaired by the revival of it.

If it be urged, that the queſtion, which relates only to a name, be trifling and unimportant; it may be replied, that the leſs is demanded, the greater contempt is ſhewn by a refuſal. That titles are more than empty ſounds, may be proved not only from the preſent diſpute, but from the antient conſtitutions, and the determination of former parliaments, by which the title of KING was declared eſſential to the conſtitution, in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII. and yet a ſtronger proof of regard to titles, was given by the parliament of Henry VIII. in which it was enacted, that the title of lord of Ireland ſhould be changed to that of king, that the difficulties ariſing from the ambiguity of the title might be removed. Even the late convention, called together without the election or concurrence of the people, found the prejudice ariſing from mere titles of ſo great force, that they were obliged to aſſume the name of a parliament, that their determinations might eſcape contempt.

Thus the requeſt of the parliament, appears not only reaſonable, but neceſſary; not only conſiſtent with the preſent diſpoſition of the people, but conformable to the ſentiments of all former acts; and certainly nothing ſhould produce a refuſal of ſuch a requeſt, except the impoſſibility of granting it.

But the objections raiſed by your highneſs ſeem very far from implying any neceſſity of declining the title ſo unanimouſly offer'd you, and ſo earneſtly preſſed upon you, being founded upon ſuppoſitions merely conjectural. For your firſt aſſertion, that the office does not neceſſarily require the ſame title, has been already conſidered; and it has been ſhewn, that there

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can be no reaſon in altering the title, if the power be the ſame; and that the ſupreme magiſtrate cannot be inveſted with new powers without endleſs confuſion, and incredible jealouſies. It is therefore of no great force to object, that many good men will be diſſatisfied with the revival of the title: for tho' it muſt be granted, that thoſe who have aſſiſted us in ſhaking off oppreſſion, have a claim to our gratitude; and that piety, tho' erroneous, deſerves indulgence; yet both gratitude and indulgence ought to be limited by reaſon. In things indifferent, conſiderations of tenderneſs and reſpect may turn the balance; but we have not a right to conſult the ſatisfaction of a few, however great their merits may have been, at the expence of the public tranquility, and the happineſs of ſucceeding generations. The ſatisfaction of particulars may be endeavoured by particular proviſion; but if, in queſtions of univerſal importance, we have regard to any thing but univerſal good, and the great laws of reaſon and juſtice, we ſhall be toſſed in endleſs uncertainty. "He that obſerveth the wind ſhall never ſow, and he that regardeth the clouds ſhall never reap." He that attends to mutable circumſtances, and waits till nothing ſhall oppoſe his intention, ſhall deſign for ever without execution. When are we to hope for ſettlement, if general unanimity muſt introduce it? Whatever ſhall be determined, multitudes will ſtill remain diſſatisfied, becauſe mens opinions will always be various. It was not with univerſal approbation that the title of protector was aſſumed, or that any change has hitherto been made; but ſince ſome diſcontent will always be found, whatever meaſures ſhall be taken, let not the ſatisfaction of private men be preferr'd to that of the parliament, to the determination of which all good men will readily ſubmit.

Still leſs weight has the objection drawn by your highneſs from the viſible diſpenſation of providence, of which we know too little to direct our actions by them, in oppoſition to evident reaſon, to certain facts, and revealed precepts; lights which we always are commanded

manded to uſe, and of which the two firſt can ſeldom, and the laſt never deceive us. If we conſider this poſition, that becauſe providence has once blaſted the title of KING, or ſuffer'd it to be blaſted, it is therefore never to be revived, it will ſoon appear, that we cannot admit it in its whole extent, and purſue it through all its conſequences, without involving ourſelves in endleſs difficulties, and condemning our own conduct.

If providence hath blaſted the office of KING, how can it be proved, that the ſupreme power, in any ſingle head, under whatſoever title, even the power which you now poſſeſs, is not equally interdicted? The acts of parliament extend equally to all titles, and declare againſt monarchy under every name.

But the conſequences of this propoſition do not terminate in this inconſiſtency of conduct, but extend equally to every determination; for if what has been once deſtroyed by providence be for ever after interdicted, what will remain of which the uſe is lawful? what is there of which we have not at ſome time been deprived by providence, or which providence has not at ſome time made the inſtrument of our puniſhment? May not the diſſolution of the long parliament be interpreted as a blaſt from heaven with equal juſtice, and the people be repreſented no more? But in reality, the proceedings of providence are not intended as the rules of action; we are left to govern our own lives by virtue and by prudence. When a form of government is deſtroyed, for juſt reaſons it is blaſted by providence, and loſes its efficacy; when with equal reaſons it is reſtored, then providence again ſmiles upon it, and the ſanction of heaven renews its validity. If royalty was deſtroyed by Providence, who can deny, that the ſame Providence directs it to be revived? Is not the reſolution of the parliament equally a proof on either ſide? or have we any arguments to prove, that the people co-operate with Providence leſs when they require than when they reject a KING? Let us wave ſuch inconcluſive arguments, and dubious conjectures; and guide ourſelves by the ſteady light of religion, reaſon,

reaſon, and experience. That a juſt demand is not to be refuſed, religion will inform us: reaſon will teach us, that the magiſtrate is to conform to the laws, and not the laws yield to the magiſtrate; and the experience of many ages may inſtruct us, that the king has nothing to fear from compliance with the parliament. At leaſt if any danger ſhould ariſe from the meaſures now propoſed, it will ariſe from the performance, not neglect of our duty; and we may therefore encounter it with that reſolution which a conſciouſneſs of the approbation of God ought to inſpire.

## The PROTECTOR's final Anſwer.

N. B. This diſcourſe is in many parts remarkably obſcure, as well from the negligence and ignorance of the copiers and printers, as from frequent alluſions to occurrences known to the perſons with whom Cromwell was conferring, but not mentioned in any hiſtory which it is now in our power to conſult: we have therefore collected ſuch of the arguments as we can apprehend the full meaning of, and have omitted ſome unintelligible paſſages, and others which related to other articles in the petition.

On the 26th of April (and in another conference May 11.), the protector made the following reply:

My Lords,

HAVING ſeriouſly reflected on the demand of the parliament, and the learned arguments produced by the committee to ſupport it, I think it unreaſonable any longer to delay ſuch a reply as it is in my power to make, becauſe it is both due to the great body by whom you are deputed, and neceſſary to the diſpatch of public affairs, which ſeem to be entirely ſuſpended,

ſuſpended, and to wait for the deciſion of this queſtion; a queſtion which I cannot yet think of ſo much importance as it is repreſented and conceived.

The arguments produced in the laſt conference I ſhall not waſte time in repeating, becauſe they were little different from thoſe formerly produced; only graced with new decorations, and enforced with ſome new inſtances. With reſpect to the chief reaſon, the known nature of the title of KING, the fix'd and ſtated bound of the authority imply'd by it, its propriety with regard to the laws, and the veneration paid to it by the people, I have nothing to add, nor think any thing neceſſary beyond what I have already offered. I am convinced, that your authority is ſufficient to give validity to any adminiſtration, and to add dignity to any title, without the concurrence of antient forms, or the ſanction of hereditary prejudices.

All government intends the good of the people, and that government is therefore beſt by which their good may be moſt effectually promoted: we are therefore, in eſtabliſhing the chief magiſtracy of theſe kingdoms, chiefly to inquire, what form or what title will be moſt willingly admitted; and this diſcovery being once made, it will eaſily be eſtabliſhed by a ſingle act of parliament, concurring with the general deſire of the people.

It may indeed be urged, that in rejecting the title of KING I deny the requeſt of the parliament, and treat the repreſentatives of the people with a degree of diſregard which no king of England ever diſcover'd. But let it be conſider'd how much my ſtate differs from that of a legal king, claiming the crown by inheritance, or exalted to ſupreme authority by the parliament, and governing by fix'd laws in a ſettled eſtabliſhment. I hold the ſupreme power by no other title than that of neceſſity. I aſſumed the authority with which I ſtand inveſted, at a time when immediate ruin was falling down upon us, which no other man durſt attempt to prevent; when oppoſite factions were ruſhing into war, becauſe no man durſt interpoſe, and com-

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mand peace. What were the dangers that threaten'd us, and upon what principles the factious and disobedient attempted to interrupt the public tranquillity, it may not be at this time improper to explain.

The parliament, which had ſo vigorouſly withſtood the encroachments of the regal power, became themſelves too deſirous of abſolute authority; and not only engroſs'd the legiſlative, but uſurp'd the executive power. All cauſes civil and criminal, all queſtions of property and right, were determin'd by commitees; who, being themſelves the legiſlature, were accountable to no law; and for that reaſon their decrees were arbitrary, and their proceedings violent; oppreſſion was without redreſs, and unjuſt ſentence without appeal. All the buſineſs of all the courts of Weſtminſter was tranſacted in this manner; and the hardſhips were ſtill more lamented, becauſe there was no proſpect of either end or intermiſſion. For the parliament was ſo far from intending to reſign this unlimited authority, that they had formed a reſolution of perpetuating their tyranny; and, apprehending no poſſibility of a diſſolution by any other power, determined never to diſſolve themſelves.

Such and ſo oppreſſive was the government plann'd out to us, and for our poſterity; and under theſe calamities muſt we ſtill have languiſh'd, had not the ſame army which repreſs'd the inſolence of monarchy, relieved us with the ſame ſpirit from the tyranny of a perpetual parliament, a tyranny which was equally illegal and oppreſſive.

When, after their dangers and labours, their battles and their wounds, they had leiſure to obſerve the government which they had eſtabliſhed at ſo much expence, they ſoon perceived, that unleſs they made one regulation more, and cruſh'd this many-headed tyranny, they had hitherto ventured their lives to little purpoſe, and had, inſtead of aſſerting their own and the people's liberty, only changed one kind of ſlavery for another.

They therefore diſſolved the parliament, which would

would never have diſſolv'd itſelf; and that the nation might not fall into its former ſtate of confuſion, intreated me to aſſume the ſupreme authority, under the title of PROTECTOR; a title which implies not any legal power of governing in my own right, but a truſt conſign'd to me for the advantage of another: this truſt I have faithfully diſcharged, and, whenever the means of ſettling the public ſhall be found, am ready to give an account of it, and reſign it.

The neceſſity which compelled me to accept it, was, indeed, not wholly produced by the illegal reſolutions of the parliament, but was much heighten'd by the ungovernable fury of wild fanatics, and tumultuous factions, who, to eſtabliſh their new ſchemes, would have ſpread ſlaughter and deſolation thro' the kingdom, and ſpared nothing, however cruel or unjuſt, that might have propagated their own opinions.

Of theſe, ſome were for abrogating all our ſtatutes, and aboliſhing all our cuſtoms, and introducing the judicial law of Moſes as the only rule of judgment, and ſtandard of equity. Of this law every man was to be his own interpreter, and conſequently was allowed to judge according to his paſſions, prejudices, or ignorance, without appeal. Every man was then to commence legiſlator: for to make laws, and to interpret them for his own uſe, is nearly the ſame.

Another ſet of men there was, who were yet more profeſſedly for inveſting every man with the power of determining his own claims, and judging of his own actions; for, it was among them a principle fix'd and uncontrovertible, that all magiſtracy was forbidden by God, and therefore unlawful and deteſtable.

It is unneceſſary to ſay what muſt have been the ſtate of a nation, in which either of theſe parties had exalted themſelves to power, and how uſefully that man was employed, who, ſtepping on a ſudden into the ſtate of dominion, had ſpirit to controul, and power to ſuppreſs them.

The reproaches thrown upon my conduct by the ignorant or ill-affected, I ſometimes hear, but with the neglect

neglect and ſcorn which they deſerve; I am acquitted by my own conſcience, and I hope by the beſt and wiſeſt men. I am convinc'd, that I was called by Providence to the power which I poſſeſs, and know that I deſire it no longer than is neceſſary for the preſervation of peace, and the ſecurity of liberty, that liberty which I have never violated, and that peace, which amidſt murmurs and diſcontents, threats and complaints, I have yet never ſuffer'd to be broken. That I aſpire to unlimited authority, and therefore aſſume a title unknown to the nation, is a reproach eaſily caſt, and as eaſily contemned: my power has been the offspring of neceſſity, and its extent has been bounded only by the occaſions of exerting it. If a ſettlement is now propoſed, and previouſly to it, a legal eſtabliſhment of my authority, it may be limited by you. Under whatever title it ſhall be conferred upon me, that title will then be valid, and thoſe limitations cannot be tranſgreſs'd.

May 11.] With regard to the particular TITLE which you have ſo warmly recommended to me, I cannot yet prevail upon myſelf to accept it. When I conſider your arguments, I cannot find them inevitably concluſive: and when I examine my own conſcience in ſolitude, I find it yet unſatisfied. The deſire of parliament is indeed a powerful motive, but the deſire of parliament cannot alter the nature of things: it may determine me, in things indifferent, to chuſe one rather than another; but it cannot make thoſe actions lawful which God has forbidden, nor oblige me to do what, though perhaps lawful in itſelf, is not lawful in my private judgment.

Upon the calmeſt reflection, I am convinced, that I cannot without a crime comply with their demand; and therefore, as I am far from believing, that thoſe who ſit for no other end than to preſerve the liberty of the nation, can deſign any infraction of mine, I declare that I cannot undertake the adminiſtration of the government under the title of KING.

No. VI.

## POEMS on OLIVER CROMWELL, by Mr. Waller, Mr. Dryden, Mr. Sprat, Mr. Locke, &c.

### I. A PANEGYRIC to OLIVER CROMWELL, lord protector. Of the preſent greatneſs, and joint-intereſt of his highneſs, and this nation.

By Edmund Waller, Eſq; in the year 1654.

WHILE with a ſtrong, and yet a gentle hand,
You bridle faction, and our hearts command;
Protect us from ourſelves, and from the foe;
Make us unite, and make us conquer too;
Let partial ſpirits ſtill aloud complain;
Think themſelves injur'd, that they cannot reign;
And own no liberty, but where they may,
Without controul, upon their fellows prey.
Above the waves as Neptune ſhew'd his face,
To chide the winds, and ſave the Trojan race;
So has your highneſs (rais'd above the reſt)
Storms of ambition toſſing us repreſt.
Your drooping country, torn by civil hate,
Reſtor'd by you, is made a glorious ſtate;
The ſeat of empire, where the Iriſh come,
And the unwilling Scot, to fetch his doom.
The ſea's our own, and now all nations greet,
With bending ſails, each veſſel of our fleet.
Your pow'r reſounds, as far as winds can blow,
Or ſwelling ſails upon the globe may go.
Heav'n, that has plac'd this iſland to give law,
To balance Europe, and her ſtates to awe,
In this conjunction does on Britain ſmile,
The greateſt leader to the greateſt iſle.

Whether

Whether this portion of the world were rent
By the wide ocean from the continent,
Or thus created; it was ſure deſign'd
To be the ſacred refuge of mankind.
Hither th' oppreſſed ſhall henceforth reſort,
Juſtice to crave, and ſuccour, of your court;
And ſhew your highneſs, not for ours alone,
But for the world's protector ſhall be known.
Fame ſwifter than your winged navy flies
Thro' ev'ry land that near the ocean lies,
Sounding your name, and telling dreadful news
To all that piracy and rapine uſe.
With ſuch a chief the meaneſt nation bleſt,
Might hope to lift her head above the reſt:
What may be thought impoſſible to do
For us embraced by the ſea and you?
Lords of the world's great waſte, the ocean, we
Whole foreſts ſend to reign upon the ſea;
And ev'ry coaſt may trouble and relieve,
But none can viſit us without your leave.
Angels and we have this prerogative,
That none can at our happy ſeat arrive,
While we deſcend at pleaſure, to invade
The bad with vengeance, or the good to aid.
Our little world, the image of the great,
Like that, amidſt the boundleſs ocean ſet,
Of her own growth has all that nature craves,
And all that's rare, as tribute from the waves.
As Egypt does not on the clouds rely,
But to the Nile owes more than to the ſky:
So what our heav'n, or what our earth denies,
Our ever conſtant friend the ſea ſupplies.
The taſte of hot Arabia's ſpice we know,
Free from the ſcorching ſun that makes it grow:
Without the worm in Perſian ſilks we ſhine,
And without planting, drink of ev'ry vine.
To dig for wealth we weary not our limbs;
Gold, tho' the heavieſt metal, hither ſwims.
Ours is the harveſt where the Indians mow;
We plough the deep, and reap what others ſow.

Things

Things of the nobleſt kind our own ſoil breeds;
Stout are our men, and warlike are our ſteeds:
Rome, tho' her eagle thro' the world had flown,
Could never make this iſland all her own.
Here the third Edward, and the Black Prince too,
France-conqu'ring Henry flouriſh'd, and now You;
For whom we ſtay'd, as did the Grecian ſtate,
Till Alexander came to urge their fate.
When for more worlds that Macedonian cry'd,
He wiſt not Thetis in her lap did hide
Another yet, a world reſerv'd for you,
To make more great than that he did ſubdue.
He ſafely might old troops to battle lead
Againſt th' unwarlike Perſian, or the Mede,
Whoſe haſty flight did from a bloodleſs field
More ſpoil than honour to the victor yield.
A race unconquer'd, by their clime made bold,
The Caledonians, arm'd with want and cold,
Have, by a fate indulgent to your fame,
Been from all ages kept for you to tame.
Whom the old Roman wall ſo ill confin'd,
With a new chain of garriſons you bind:
Here foreign gold no more ſhall make them come,
Our Engliſh iron holds them faſt at home.
They that henceforth muſt be content to know
No warmer regions than their hills of ſnow,
May blame the ſun, but muſt extol your grace,
Which in our ſenate hath allow'd them place.
Preferr'd by conqueſt, happily o'erthrown,
Falling they riſe, to be with us made one:
So kind dictators made, when they came home,
Their vanquiſh'd foes free citizens of Rome.
Like favour find the Iriſh with like fate
Advanc'd to be a portion of our ſtate;
While by your valour, and your bounteous mind,
Nations, divided by the ſea, are join'd.
Holland, to gain your friendſhip, is content
To be our out-guard on the continent:
She from her fellow-provinces would go,
Rather than hazard to have you her foe.

In our late fight, when cannons did diffuſe
Preventing poſts, the terror of the news,
Our neighbour princes trembled at their roar;
But our conjunction makes them tremble more.
Your never-failing ſword made war to ceaſe,
And now you heal us with the arts of peace;
Our minds with bounty and with awe engage,
Unite affections, and reſtrain our rage.
Leſs pleaſure take brave minds in battle won,
Than in reſtoring ſuch as are undone:
Tygers have courage, and the rugged bear;
But man alone can whom he conquers ſpare.
To pardon willing, and to puniſh loth,
You ſtrike with one hand, but you heal with both:
Lifting up all that proſtrate lie, you grieve
You cannot make the dead again to live.
When fate or error had our age miſled,
And o'er theſe nations ſuch confuſion ſpread,
The only cure which could from heav'n come down,
Was ſo much pow'r and clemency in one:
One, whoſe extraction from an antient line,
Gives hope again, that well-born men may ſhine:
The meaneſt, in your nature mild and good,
The noble reſt ſecured in your blood.
Oft have we wonder'd, how you hid in peace
A mind proportion'd to ſuch things as theſe:
How ſuch a ruling ſpirit could reſtrain,
And practiſe firſt over yourſelf to reign.
Your private life did a juſt pattern give,
How fathers, huſbands, pious ſons ſhould live:
Born to command, your princely virtues ſlept
Like humble David's, whilſt the flock he kept.
But when your troubled country call'd you forth,
Your flaming courage, and your matchleſs worth,
Dazling the eyes of all that did pretend,
To fierce contention gave a proſp'rous end.
Still as you riſe, the ſtate, exalted too,
Finds no diſtemper while it's chang'd by you;
Chang'd like the world's great ſcene, when without noiſe
The riſing ſun night's vulgar lights deſtroys.

Had

Had you ſome ages paſt this race of glory
Run with amazement we ſhould read your ſtory:
But living virtue, all atchievements paſt,
Meets envy ſtill to grapple with at laſt.
This Cæſar found; and that ungrateful age,
With loſing him, fell back to blood and rage,
Miſtaken Brutus thought to break their yoke,
But cut the bond of union at that ſtroke.
That ſun once ſet, a thouſand meaner ſtars
Give a dim light to violence and wars;
To ſuch a tempeſt as now threatens all,
Did not your mighty arm prevent the fall.
If Rome's great ſenate could not wield the ſword,
Which of the conquer'd world has made them lord;
What hope had ours, while yet their pow'r was new,
To rule victorious armies, but by you?
You, who had taught them to ſubdue their foes,
Could order teach, and all their heats compoſe;
To ev'ry duty could their minds engage,
Provoke their courage, and command their rage.
So when a lion ſhakes his dreadful mane,
And angry grows, if he that firſt took pain
To tame his youth, approach the haughty beaſt,
He bends to him, but frights away the reſt.
As the vext world, to find repoſe at laſt,
Itſelf into Auguſtus' arms did caſt:
So England now does, with like toil oppreſt,
Her weary head upon your boſom reſt.
Then let the muſes, with ſuch notes as theſe,
Inſtruct us what belongs unto our peace:
Your battles they hereafter ſhall indite,
And draw the image of our Mars in fight;
Tell of towns ſtorm'd, of armies over-run,
And mighty kingdoms by your conduct won;
How, while you thunder'd, clouds of duſt did choke
Contending troops, and ſeas lay hid in ſmoke.
Illuſtrious arts high raptures do infuſe,
And ev'ry conqueror creates a muſe:
Here in low ſtrains your milder deeds we ſing;
But there, my lord, we'll bays and olives bring

To crown your head; while you in triumph ride
O'er vanquiſh'd nations, and the ſea beſide;
While all your neighbour-princes unto you,
Like Joſeph's ſheaves, pay reverence, and bow.

III. Of a war with Spain, and fight at ſea, by general Montague. In the year 1656. By Mr. Waller.

NOW for ſome ages had the pride of Spain
Made the ſun ſhine on half the world in vain;
While ſhe bid war to all that durſt ſupply
The place of thoſe her cruelty made die:
Of nature's bounty men forbore to taſte,
And the beſt portion of the earth lay waſte.
From the new world her ſilver and her gold
Come, like a tempeſt, to confound the old;
Feeding, with theſe, the brib'd electors hopes,
Alone ſhe gave us emperors and popes;
With theſe accompliſhing her vaſt deſigns,
Europe was ſhaken with her Indian mines.
When Britain, looking with a juſt diſdain,
Upon this gilded majeſty of Spain,
And knowing well that empire muſt decline,
Whoſe chief ſupport and ſinews are of coin,
Our nation's ſolid virtues did oppoſe
To the rich troublers of the world's repoſe.
And now ſome months, encamping on the main,
Our naval army had beſieged Spain:
They that the whole world's monarchy deſign'd,
Are to their ports by our bold fleet confin'd;
From whence our red-croſs they triumphant ſee,
Riding without a rival on the ſea.
Others may uſe the ocean as their road;
Only the Engliſh make it their abode;
Whoſe ready ſails with ev'ry wind can fly,
And make a cov'nant with th' inconſtant ſky:
Our oaks ſecure, as if they there took root,
We tread on billows with a ſteady foot.

Mean

Mean while the Spaniards in America,
Near to the line, the ſun approaching ſaw,
And hop'd their European coaſt to find
Clear'd from our ſhips by the autumnal wind;
Their huge capacious galleons, ſtuft with plate,
The lab'ring winds drive ſlowly tow'rds their fate.
Before St. Lucar they their guns diſcharge,
To tell their joy, or to invite a barge:
This heard ſome ſhips of ours (tho' out of view),
And ſwift as eagles to the quarry flew:
So heedleſs lambs, which for their mother bleat,
Wake hungry lions, and become their meat.
Arriv'd, they ſoon begin the tragic play,
And with their ſmoky cannons baniſh day;
Night, horror, ſlaughter, with confuſion meet,
And with their ſable arms embrace the fleet;
Thro' yielding planks the angry bullets fly,
And of one wound hundreds together die:
Born under diff'rent ſtars, one fate they have,
The ſhip their coffin, and the ſea their grave.
Bold were the men which on the ocean firſt
Spread their new ſails, when ſhipwreck was the worſt:
More danger now from man alone we find,
Than from the rocks, the billows, or the wind.
They that had ſail'd from near th' Antarctic pole,
Their [illegible] rare, and all their veſſels whole,
In ſight [illegible] their dear country ruin'd be,
Without the guilt of either rock or ſea:
What they would ſpare, our fiercer art deſtroys,
Surpaſſing ſtorms in terror and in noiſe.
Once Jove from Ida did both hoſts ſurvey,
And, when he pleas'd to thunder, part the fray:
Here heav'n in vain that kind retreat ſhould found;
The louder cannon had the thunder drown'd.
Some we made prize, while others, burnt and rent,
With their rich lading, to the bottom went:
Down ſinks at once (ſo fortune with us ſports)
The pay of armies, and the pride of courts.
Vain man! whoſe rage buries as low that ſtore,
As avarice had digg'd for it before;

What earth in her dark bowels could not keep
From greedy hands, lies ſafer in the deep,
Where Thetis kindly does from mortals hide
Thoſe ſeeds of luxury, debate, and pride.
And now into her lap the richeſt prize
Fell, with the nobleſt of our enemies:
The marquis, glad to ſee the fire deſtroy
Wealth, that prevailing foes were to enjoy,
Out from his flaming ſhip his children ſent
To periſh in a milder element;
Then laid him by his burning lady's ſide,
And, ſince he could not ſave her, with her dy'd.
Spices and gums about them melting fry,
And, phœnix-like, in that rich neſt they die.
Alive, in equal flames of love they burn'd,
And now together are to aſhes turn'd;
Aſhes more worth than all their fun'ral coſt,
Than the huge treaſure which was with them loſt.
Theſe dying lovers, and their floating ſons,
Suſpend the fight, and ſilence all our guns:
Beauty and youth, about to periſh ſo,
Such noble pity in brave Engliſh minds,
That the rich ſpoil forgot, their valour's prize,
All labour now to ſave their enemies.
How frail our paſſions! how ſoon changed are
Our wrath and fury to a friendly care!
They that but now, for honour and for zeal,
Made the ſea bluſh with blood, reſign their hate;
And, their young foes endeav'ring to retrieve,
With greater hazard than they fought they dive.
With theſe returns victorious Montague,
With laurels in his hand, and half Peru.
Let the brave generals divide that bough;
Our great protector hath ſuch wreaths enough.
His conqu'ring head has no more room for bays:
Then let it be as the glad nation prays;
Let the rich ore be forthwith melted down,
And the ſtate fix'd, by making him a crown.

III

III. To Oliver Cromwell: by Mr. John Locke.

A Peaceful ſway the great Auguſtus bore,
O'er what great Julius gain'd by arms before.
Julius was all with martial trophies crown'd;
Auguſtus for his peaceful arts renown'd.
Rome calls them great, and makes them deities;
That for his valour; this, his policies.
You, mighty prince, than both are greater far,
Who rule in peace, that world you gain'd by war:
You ſure from heav'n a finiſh'd hero fell,
Who thus alone two pagan gods excel.

IV. Heroic ſtanzas on the late protector Oliver Cromwell. Written after his funeral, by Mr. Dryden.

AND now 'tis time; for their officious haſte,
Who would before have borne him to the ſky,
Like eager Romans, ere all rites were paſt,
Did let too ſoon the ſacred eagle fly.

Though our beſt notes are treaſon to his fame,
Join'd with the loud applauſe of public voice;
Since heav'n what praiſe we offer to his name,
Hath render'd too prophetic by its choice:

Though in his praiſe no arts can lib'ral be,
Since they whoſe muſes have the higheſt flown,
Add not to his immortal memory,
But do an act of friendſhip to their own:

Yet 'tis our duty, and our int'reſt too,
Such monuments as we can build, to raiſe,
Leſt all the world prevent what we ſhou'd do,
And claim a title in him by their praiſe.

How ſhall I then begin, or where conclude,
To draw a fame ſo truly circular?
For in a round what order can be ſhew'd,
Where all the parts ſo equal perfect are?

His grandeur he deriv'd from heav'n alone;
For he was great ere fortune made him ſo;
And wars, like miſts that riſe againſt the ſun,
Made him but greater ſeem, not greater grow.

No borrow'd bays his temples did adorn,
But to our crown he did freſh jewels bring:
Nor was his virtue poiſon'd, ſoon as born,
With the too early thoughts of being king.

Fortune (that eaſy miſtreſs to the young,
But to her antient ſervants coy and hard)
Him, at that age, her fav'rites rank'd among,
When ſhe her beſt-lov'd Pompey did diſcard.

He, private, mark'd the faults of others ſway,
And ſet as ſea-marks for himſelf to ſhun;
Not like raſh monarchs, who their youth betray,
By acts their age too late would wiſh undone.

And yet dominion was not his deſign;
We owe that bleſſing not to him, but heav'n,
Which to fair acts unſought rewards did join:
Rewards that leſs to him than us were giv'n.

Our former chiefs, like ſticklers of the war,
Firſt fought t'inflame the parties, then to poiſe;
The quarrel lov'd, but did the cauſe abhor,
And did not ſtrike to hurt, but make a noiſe.

War, our conſumption, was their gainful trade:
He inward bled, whilſt they prolong'd our pain;
He fought to hinder fighting, and eſſay'd.
To ſtanch the blood by breathing of the vein.

Swift and reſiſtleſs thro' the land he paſt,
Like that bold Greek who did the eaſt ſubdue,
And made to battles ſuch heroic haſte,
As if on wings of victory he flew.

He fought ſecure of fortune as of fame:
Still by new maps the iſland might be ſhown,
Of conqueſts which he ſtrew'd where-e'er he came,
Thick as the Galaxy with ſtars is ſown.

His

His palms, tho' under weights they did not ſtand,
Still thriv'd; no winter could his laurels fade;
Heav'n in his portrait ſhew'd a workman's hand,
And drew it perfect, tho' without a ſhade.

Peace was the prize of all his toil and care,
Which war had baniſh'd, and did now reſtore:
Bologna's walls thus mounted in the air,
To ſeat themſelves more ſurely than before.

Her ſafety reſcu'd Ireland to him owes,
And trenchrous Scotland, to no int'reſt true;
Yet bleſs'd that fate which did his arms diſpoſe
Her land to civilize, as to ſubdue.

Nor was he like thoſe ſtars, which only ſhine
When to pale mariners they ſtorms portend;
He had his calmer influence, and his mien
Did love and majeſty together blend.

'Tis true, his count'nance did imprint an awe,
And nat'rally all ſouls to his did bow;
As wands of divination downward draw,
And point to the[illegible] where ſov'reign gold doth grow.

When, paſt all off'rings to Feretrian Jove,
He Mars depos'd, and arms to gowns made yield;
Succeſsful councils did him ſoon approve
As fit for cloſe intrigues, as open field.

To ſuppliant Holland he vouchſaf'd a peace,
Our once bold rival in the Britiſh main.
Now tamely glad her unjuſt claim to ceaſe,
And buy our friendſhip with her idol, gain.

Fame of th' aſſerted ſea, through Europe blown,
Made France and Spain ambitious of his love;
Each knew that ſide muſt conquer he would own;
And for him fiercely, as for empire, ſtrove.

No ſooner was the Frenchman's cauſe embrac'd,
Than the light monſieur the grave don outweigh'd:
His fortune turn'd the ſcale where it was caſt,
Though Indian mines were in the other laid.

When abſent, yet we conquer'd in his ſight;
For tho' that ſome mean artiſt's ſkill were ſhown
In mingling colours, or in placing light;
Yet ſtill the fair deſignment was his own:

For from all tempers he could ſervice draw;
The worth of each with its allay he knew;
And, as the confident of nature, ſaw,
How ſhe complexions did divide and brew.

Or he their ſingle virtues did ſurvey,
By intuition in his own large breaſt,
Where all the rich ideas of them lay,
That were the rule and meaſure to the reſt.

When ſuch heroic virtue heav'n ſets out,
The ſtars, like commons, ſullenly obey;
Becauſe it drains them when it comes about;
And therefore is a taſk they ſeldom pay.

From this high ſpring our foreign conqueſts flow,
Which yet more glorious triumph do portend,
Since their commencement to his arms they owe,
If ſprings as high as fountains may aſcend.

He made us freemen of the continent,
Whom nature did like captives treat before;
To nobler preys the Engliſh lion ſent,
And taught him firſt in Belgian walks to roar.

That old unqueſtion'd pirate of the land,
Proud Rome, with dread the fate of Dunkirk heard;
And trembling wiſh'd behind more Alps to ſtand,
Although an Alexander were her guard.

By his command, we boldly croſs'd the line,
And bravely fought where ſouthern ſtars ariſe;
We trac'd the far-fetch'd gold unto the mine,
And that which brib'd our fathers made our prize.

Such was our prince; yet own'd a ſoul above
The higheſt acts it could produce or ſhew;
Thus poor mechanic arts in public move,
Whilſt the deep ſecrets beyond practice go.

Nor died he when his ebbing fame went leſs,
But when freſh laurels courted him to live;
He ſeem'd but to prevent ſome new ſucceſs,
As if above what triumphs earth can give.

His lateſt victories ſtill thickeſt came,
As near the centre motion doth increaſe;
Till he, preſs'd down by his own weighty name,
Did, like the veſtal, under ſpoils deceaſe.

But firſt the ocean, as a tribute, ſent
That giant prince of all her wat'ry herd;
And the iſle, when her protecting genius went,
Upon his obſequies loud ſighs conferr'd.

No civil broils have ſince his death aroſe;
But faction now by habit does obey;
And wars have that reſpect for his repoſe,
As winds for Halcyons, when they breed at ſea.

His aſhes in a peaceful urn ſhall reſt,
His name a great example ſtands, to ſhow
How ſtrangely high endeavours may be bleſt,
Where piety and valour jointly go.

V. To the happy memory of the late protector, Oliver Cromwell. By Mr. Sprat of Oxon, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter.

A Pindaric ODE.

I.

THIS true, great name, thou art ſecure
From the forgetfulneſs and rage
Of death, or envy, or devouring age;
Thou 'mongſt the force and teeth of time endure:
Thy fame, like men, the elder it doth grow,
Will of itſelf turn whiter too,
Without what needleſs art can do;
Will live beyond thy breath, beyond thy herſe,
Tho' it were never heard or ſung in verſe.

Without

Without our help thy memory is ſafe.
They only want an epitaph,
That do remain alone
Alive in an inſcription,
Remembred only on the braſs, or marble ſtone.
'Tis all in vain what we can do:
All our roſes and perfumes
Will but officious folly ſhew,
And pious nothings, to ſuch mighty tombs
All our incenſe, gums, and balm,
Are but unneceſſary duties here;
The poets may their ſpices ſpare,
Their coſtly numbers, and their tuneful feet:
That need not be embalm'd, which of itſelf is ſweet.

II.

We know to praiſe thee is a dangerous proof
Of our obedience and our love:
For when the ſun and fire meet,
The one's extinguiſh'd quite;
And yet the other never is more bright:
So they that write of thee, and join
Their feeble names with thine,
Their weaker ſparks with thy illuſtrious light,
Will loſe themſelves in that ambitious thought;
And yet no fame to thee from hence be brought,
We know, bleſs'd ſpirit, thy mighty name
Wants no additions of another's beam;
It's for our pens too high, and full of theme,
The muſes are made great by thee, not thou by them.
Thy fame's eternal lamp will live,
And in thy ſacred urn ſurvive,
Without the food of oil, which we can give.
'Tis true; but yet our duty calls our ſongs,
Duty commands our tongues:
Tho' thou want not our praiſes, we
Are not excus'd for what we owe to thee:
For ſo men from religion are not freed;
But from the altars clouds muſt riſe,
Tho' heav'n itſelf doth nothing need,
And tho' the Gods don't want an earthly ſacrifice.

III.

Great life of wonders, whoſe each year
Full of new miracles did appear!
Whoſe ev'ry month might be
Alone a chronicle, or hiſtory!
Others great actions are
But thinly ſcatter'd here and there;
At beſt, but all one ſingle ſtar;
But thine, the milky way,
All one continued light of undiſtinguiſh'd day:
They throng'd ſo cloſe, that nought elſe could be ſeen,
Scarce any common ſky did come between.
What ſhall I ſay, or where begin?
Thou may'ſt in double ſhapes be ſhown,
Or in thy arms, or in thy gown;
Like Jove ſometimes with warlike thunder, and
Sometimes with peaceful ſceptre in his hand;
Or in the field, or on the throne;
In what thy head, or what thy arm hath done.
All that thou didſt was ſo refin'd,
So full of ſubſtance, and ſo ſtrongly join'd,
So pure, ſo weighty gold,
That the leaſt grain of it,
If fully ſpread and beat,
Would many leaves, and mighty volumes hold.

IV.

Before thy name was publiſh'd, and whilſt yet
Thou only to thyſelf wert great;
Whilſt yet thy happy bud
Was not quite ſeen, or underſtood;
It then ſure ſigns of future greatneſs ſhew'd;
Then thy domeſtic worth
Did tell the world what it would be,
When it ſhould fit occaſion ſee,
When a full ſpring ſhould call it forth:
As bodies in the dark and night
Have the ſame colours, the ſame red and white,
As in the open day and light;
The ſun doth only ſhow
That they are bright, not make them ſo:

So whilſt but private walls did know
What we to ſuch a mighty mind ſhould owe,
Then the ſame virtues did appear,
Though in a leſs and more contracted ſphere,
As full, though not as large as ſince they were
And like great rivers fountains, though
At firſt ſo deep thou didſt not go;
Tho' then thine was not ſo enlarg'd a flood,
Yet when 'twas little, 'twas as clear, as good.

V.

'Tis true, thou waſt not born unto a crown;
Thy ſceptre's not thy father's, but thy own:
Thy purple was not made at once in haſte,
But, after many other colours paſt,
It took the deepeſt princely dye at laſt.
Thou didſt begin with leſſer cares,
And private thoughts took up thy private years:
Thoſe hands, which were ordain'd by fates
To change the world, and alter ſtates,
Practis'd at firſt that vaſt deſign
On meaner things with equal mein.
That ſoul, which ſhould ſo many ſceptres ſway,
To whom ſo many kingdoms ſhould obey,
Learn'd firſt to rule in a domeſtic way:
So government itſelf began
From family, and ſingle man;
Was by the ſmall relation, firſt,
Of huſband, and of father, nurs'd;
And from thoſe leſs beginnings paſt,
To ſpread itſelf o'er all the world at laſt.

VI.

But when thy country (then almoſt inthrall'd)
Thy virtue, and thy courage call'd;
When England did thy arms intreat,
And 't had been ſin in thee not to be great;
When ev'ry ſtream, and ev'ry flood,
Was a true vein of earth, and ran with blood;
When unus'd arms, and unknown war,
Fill'd ev'ry place, and ev'ry ear;

When

When the great ſtorms and diſmal night,
Did all the land affright;
'Twas time for thee to bring forth all our light.
Thou left'ſt thy more delightful peace,
Thy private life, and better eaſe;
Then down thy ſteel and armour took,
Wiſhing that it ſtill hung upon the hook:
When death had got a large commiſſion out,
Throwing her arrows and her ſting about;
Then thou (as once the healing ſerpent roſe)
Waſt lifted up, not for thyſelf, but us.

VII.

Thy country wounded was, and ſick, before
Thy wars and arms did her reſtore:
Thou knew'ſt where the diſeaſe did lie,
And, like the cure of ſympathy,
Thy ſtrong and certain remedy
Unto the weapon didſt apply:
Thou didſt not draw the ſword, and ſo
Away the ſcabbard throw;
As if thy country ſhou'd
Be the inheritance of Mars and blood:
But that when the great work was ſpun,
War in itſelf ſhould be undone;
That peace might land again upon the ſhore,
Richer and better than before;
The huſbandmen no ſteel ſhould know,
None but the uſeful iron of the plough;
That bays might creep on ev'ry ſpear:
And tho' our ſky was overſpread
With a deſtructive red,
'Twas but till thou our ſun didſt in full light appear.

VIII.

When Mavorsy'd, the purple blood,
That from his gaping wound had flow'd,
Turn'd into letters; ev'ry leaf
Had on it wrote his epitaph:
So from that crimſon flood,
Which thou, by fate of times, wert led
Unwillingly to ſhed,
Letters and learning roſe, and were renew'd.

Thou

Thou fought'ſt not out of envy, hope, or hate,
But to refine the church and ſtate;
And like the Romans, whate'er thou
In the field of Mars didſt mow,
Was, that a holy iſland hence might grow.
Thy wars, as rivers raiſed by a ſhow'r,
Which welcome clouds do pour,
Though they at firſt may ſeem
To carry all away with an enraged ſtream:
Yet did not happen, that they might deſtroy,
Or the better parts annoy;
But all the filth and mud to ſcour,
And leave behind another ſlime,
To give a birth to a more happy pow'r.

IX.

In fields unconquer'd, and ſo well
Thou didſt in battles and in arms excel,
That ſteelly arms themſelves might be
Worn out in war as ſoon as thee.
Succeſs ſo cloſe upon thy troops did wait,
As if thou firſt hadſt conquer'd fate;
As if uncertain victory
Had been firſt overcome by thee;
As if her wings were clipp'd, and could not flee;
Whilſt thou didſt only ſerve,
Before thou hadſt what firſt thou didſt deſerve.
Others by thee did great things do,
Triumph'dſt thyſelf, and mad'ſt them triumph too;
Tho' they above thee did appear,
As yet in a more large and higher ſphere,
Thou, the great ſun, gav'ſt light to ev'ry ſtar.
Thyſelf an army wert alone,
And mighty troops contain'dſt in one:
Thy only ſword did guard the land,
Like that which, flaming in the angel's hand,
From men God's garden did defend:
But yet thy ſword did more than his,
Not only guarded, but did make this land a paradiſe.

X.

X.

Thou fought'ſt not to be high or great,
Not for a ſceptre or a crown,
Or ermin, purple, or the throne;
But, as the veſtal heat,
Thy fire was kindled from above alone.
Religion, putting on the ſhield,
Brought thee victorious to the field.
Thy arms, like thoſe, which antient heroes wore,
Were given by the God thou didſt adore;
And all the ſwords thy armies had,
Were on an heav'nly anvil made;
Not intereſt, or any weak deſire
Of rule, or empire, did thy mind inſpire;
Thy valour, like the holy fire
Which did before the Perſian armies go,
Liv'd in the camp, and yet was ſacred too;
Thy mighty ſword anticipates
What was reſerv'd for heav'n and thoſe bleſs'd ſeats,
And makes the church triumphant here below.

XI.

Tho' fortune did [illegible] on thy ſword,
And did obey thy mighty word;
Tho' fortune for thy ſide and thee,
Forgot her lov'd unconſtancy;
Amidſt thy arms and trophies thou
Wert valiant and gentle too,
Woundeſt thyſelf, when thou didſt kill thy foe.
Like ſteel, when it much work has paſt,
That which was rough does ſhine at laſt;
Thy arms by being oft'ner us'd did ſmoother grow:
Nor did thy battles make thee proud or high;
Thy conqueſt rais'd the ſtate, not thee:
Thou o[illegible]n'ſt thyſelf in ev'ry victory.
As when the ſun, in a directer line,
Upon a poliſh'd golden ſhield doth ſhine,
The ſhield reflects unto the ſun again his light:
So when the heavens ſmil'd on thee in fight,
When thy propitious God had lent

Succeſs

Succeſs and vict'ry to thy tent,
To heav'n again the victory was ſent.

XII.

England, till thou didſt come,
Confin'd her valour home:
Then our own rocks did ſtand
Bounds to our fame as well as land,
And were to us, as well
As to our enemies, unpaſſable.
We were aſham'd at what we read,
And bluſh'd at what our fathers did,
Becauſe we came ſo far behind the dead.
The Britiſh lion hung his mane, and droop'd
To ſlavery and burden ſtoop'd;
With a degen'rate ſleep and fear
Lay in his den, and languiſh'd there;
At whoſe leaſt voice before,
A trembling echo ran through ev'ry ſhore,
And ſhook the world at ev'ry roar:
Thou his ſubdu'd courage didſt reſtore,
Sharpen his claws, and in his eyes
Mad'ſt the ſame dreadful lightning riſe;
Mad'ſt him again affright the neighb'ring floods;
His mighty thunder ſounds through all the woods:
Thou haſt our military fame redeem'd,
Which was loſt, or clouded ſeem'd:
Nay, more; heav'n did by thee beſtow
On us, at once, an iron age, and happy too.

XIII.

Till thou command'ſt, that azure chain of waves,
Which nature round about us ſent,
Made us to ev'ry pirate ſlaves,
Was rather burden than an ornament;
Thoſe fields of ſea, that waſh'd our ſhore,
Were plow'd and reap'd by other hands than ours:
To us, the liquid maſs,
Which doth about us run,
As it is to the ſun,
Only a bed to ſleep on was;

And

And not, as now, a pow'rful throne,
To ſhake and ſway the world thereon.
Our princes in their hand a globe did ſhew,
But not a perfect one,
Compos'd of earth, and water too.
But thy commands the floods obey'd,
Thou all the wilderneſs of water ſway'd;
Thou didſt but only wed the ſea,
Not make her equal, but a ſlave to thee.
Neptune himſelf did bear thy yoke,
Stoop'd and trembled at thy ſtroke:
He that ruled all the main,
Acknowledg'd thee his ſovereign:
And now the conquer'd ſea doth pay
More tribute to thy Thames, than that unto the ſea.

XIV.

Till now our valour did ourſelves more hurt;
Our wounds to other nations were a ſport;
And as the earth, our land produc'd
Iron and ſteel, which ſhould to tear ourſelves be us'd.
Our ſtrength within itſelf did break,
Like thund'ring cannons crack,
And kill'd thoſe that were near,
While th' enemies ſecur'd and untouch'd were.
But now our trumpets thou haſt made to ſound
Againſt our enemies walls in foreign ground;
And yet no echo back to us returning ſound.
England is now the happy peaceful iſle,
And all the world the while
Is exerciſing arms and wars,
With foreign, or inteſtine jars.
The torch extinguiſh'd here, we lend to others oil.
We give to all, yet know ourſelves no fear;
We roam in the flame of ruin and of death,
Where-e'er we pleaſe our ſwords t' unſheath,
Whilſt we in calm and temp'rate regions breath
Like to the ſun, whoſe heat is hurl'd
Thro' ev'ry corner of the world;
Whoſe flame thro' all the air doth go,
And yet the ſun himſelf the while no fire doth know.

XV.

XV.

Beſides the glories of thy peace
Are not in number, nor in value, leſs.
Thy hand did cure, and cloſe the ſcars
Of our bloody civil wars;
Not only lanc'd, but heal'd the wound,
Made us again as healthy, and as ſound:
When now the ſhip was well-nigh loſt,
After the ſtorm upon the coaſt,
By 'ts mariners endanger'd moſt;
When they their ropes and helms had left,
When the planks aſunder cleft,
And floods came roaring in with mighty ſound,
Thou a ſafe land, and harbour, for us found,
And ſaved'ſt thoſe that would themſelves have drown'd:
A work which none but heav'n and thou could do,
Thou mad'ſt us happy whe'er we would or no:
Thy judgment, mercy, temperance ſo great,
As if thoſe virtues in thy mind had ſeat:
Thy piety, not only in the field, but peace,
When heav'n ſeem'd to be wanted leaſt:
Thy temples not, like Janus, open were
Only in time of war,
When thou hadſt greater cauſe of fear;
Religion and the awe of heav'n poſſeſt
All places, and all times alike, thy breaſt.

XVI.

Nor didſt thou only for thy age provide,
But for the years to come beſide:
Our after-times, and late poſterity,
Shall pay unto thy fame as much as we;
They too are made by thee.
When fate did call thee to a higher throne,
And when thy mortal work was done,
When heav'n did ſay it, and thou muſt be gone,
Thou him to bear thy burden choſe,
Who might (if any could) make us forget thy loſs:
Nor hadſt thou him deſign'd,
Had he not been
Not only to thy blood, but virtue, kin;
Not only heir unto thy throne, but mind.

'Tis

'Tis he ſhall perfect all thy cares,
And with as fine a thread weave out thy loom:
So one did bring thy choſen people from
Their ſlavery and fears;
Led them through their pathleſs road,
Guided himſelf by God;
He brought them to the borders; but a ſecond hand
Did ſettle, and ſecure them in the promis'd land.

VI. Upon the late ſtorm, and the death of the protector O. Cromwell, enſuing the ſame. By Mr. Waller.

WE muſt reſign! heav'n his great ſoul does claim,
In ſtorms as loud as his immortal fame!
His dying groans, his laſt breath ſhakes our iſle,
And trees uncut fall for his fun'ral pile!
About this palace their broad roots are toſt
Into the air: ſo Romulus was loſt.
New Rome in ſuch a tempeſt miſs'd their king,
And from obeying fell to worſhipping.
On Oeta's top thus Hercules lay dead,
With ruin'd oaks and pines about him ſpread:
The poplar too, whoſe bough he wont to wear
On his victorious head, lay proſtrate there.
Thoſe his laſt fury from the mountain rent;
Our dying hero, from the continent,
Raviſh'd whole towns; and forts, from Spaniards reft,
As his laſt legacy to Britain left.
The ocean, which ſo long our hopes confin'd,
Could give no limits to his vaſter mind;
Our bounds enlargement was his lateſt toil,
Nor has he left us prisoners to our iſle:
Under the tropic is our language ſpoke,
And part of Flanders hath receiv'd our yoke.
From civil broils he did us diſengage;
Found nobler objects for our martial rage;

And,

And, with wiſe conduct, to his country ſhew'd
Their antient way of conquering abroad.
Ungrateful then, if we no more allow
To him, that gave us peace and empire too.
Princes that fear'd him, griev'd, concern'd to ſee
No pitch of glory from the grave is free.
Nature herſelf took notice of his death,
And, ſighing, ſwell'd the ſea with ſuch a breath,
That to remoteſt ſhores her billows roll'd,
Th' approaching fate of her great ruler told.

From the Cambridge verſes, written upon the lord protector's death.

VII. In obitum ſereniſſimi domini, Olivarii Cromwelli, hujus reipublicæ protectoris.

FLORES non Paphios, roſas
Huc ferte, aut violas; munera non rogant
Hæc manes Olivarii:
Sed tela & clypeos, Martia præmia,
Ferte, & laurigeras date
Laudes exequiis egregii ducis;
Quo fama Angliacæ nitet
Gentis, præteritæ reddita gloriæ.
Hic eſt qui patriæ diu
Amiſſas penitus reſtituit ſuæ
Leges; qui furias pius
Bellonæ indigenæ compoſuit truces;
Et cujus Scotus horruit
Tot funeſta tepens ſanguine prælia.
Noſtri non ſemel impetum
Victricemque manum ſenſit Hibernia
Herois. Gladiis feri
Hujus ſubſidium conſocialibus
Ambirunt proceres prece
Gallorum: potuit non ſine prælio

Quem

Quem dirus Britavus ſibi
Immanis vallo jungere fœdere;
Claſſis cum lacteas rates
Fudiſſet proprio Marte Britannica.
Sic hoſtes animo ſuos,
Dum vivus, domuit; ſed, Libitina, te
Laſſam nomine deprimens,
Invictus pariter vixit & interit.

B. S. Coll. S. Petri Soc. M. A.

## No. VII.

The ſubſtance of a panegyric of the lord general Oliver Cromwell, as preſented to him by the Portugueſe embaſſador don Juan Roderiguez de Saa Meneſes, Conde de Penaguaia. Written in Latin, as pretended, by a learned Jeſuit, his excellency's chaplain; but, as more probably ſuppoſed, by the celebrated Mr. John Milton, Latin ſecretary to Cromwell.

WHEN I had often and long revolved in mind thoſe illuſtrious examples, which, from an aſſiduous reading of the antients of heroic time, I had treaſured up in my memory, there occurred to me a certain ſpecies of humanity ſuperlatively excellent, formed out of the virtues of them all, which I propoſed to myſelf as an idea, to which I might compare the protraits of whatever eminent men I could meet with in the preſent age. And indeed it has ſo happened, by the will of fortune, that I have travelled over the greateſt and moſt noble part of Europe; in which peregrination I both accidentally lit of, and induſtriouſly found, many who ſhone forth in every kind of praiſe, whom, as they reſpectively excelled, I compared with the ſpecies that reſided in my mind, and obſerved how nearly

nearly each came up to, or fell ſhort of it; and from that ſimilitude aſſigned to every one his own proper rank. Some there were, who, upon a compariſon of their virtues, made up that reſemblance in part; others, who almoſt repreſented it; but not one, I muſt ingenuouſly own, who expreſſed it fully. That, indeed, ſeemed a thing rather to be wiſhed than hoped for. For who was there who could, in every reſpect, bring together all the ornaments of the gown and the ſword, ſo as to equal the idea I had formed from them?

But my voyage into Britain forbad me to deſpair. Britain, which, by being divided from the reſt of the globe, made, in the opinion of the antients, a world of itſelf, has preſented me with that which the other could not afford. There was an expectation already raiſed from the extraordinary fame of the perſon, but ſuch an expectation as rather inflamed a deſire, than produced a hope of finding in him what I had feigned in my wiſh. I was even afraid, leſt, as fame is wont to magnify things beyond their due, that the preſent virtue of the man, eminent as it was, would not ſuſtain the expectation it had raiſed. You, general Cromwell, the honour of your country, the ſafeguard of the commonwealth, the ornament of England, you are the man I mean. No ſooner did I light on you, and thoroughly inſpect your accompliſhments, and critically compare them with thoſe I had collected in my own idea, but I perſuaded myſelf, that you either equalled, or at leaſt came nearer to than any other, this image of a perfect hero.—I was overjoyed, that now I had found you: I remained poſſeſſed of ſo vaſt a deſire: for I had ſeen, in you I had ſeen, the picture of all policy, and of all public virtue, moſt compleatly delineated.

But, not to dwell in generals, let us conſider thoſe virtues and endowments which made up that form that I had feigned in my mind, and compare them, as we proceed, with your actions and accompliſhments; that we may, by the compariſon, determine if the latter come up to the former.

Firſt,

First then, I had conceived, as a very desirable thing, a nobility that was pure, splendid, honourable; and at the same time, free from delicacy, free from vanity. I divided from it all meanness, luxury, haughtiness, vaunting of itself. That which is solid, subject to no shame, promotive of no pride; far above every thing mean, near approaching to magnificence; from which nobody might detract, and which might detract from nobody; clear indeed and conspicuous, but not so as to obscure the lustre of others; which would not be satisfied with itself alone, or abstain from action from an opinion that it had honour enough in its own blood; but would spur on to fame, and wish still to increase in virtue; not tending to make the possessor careless, but brave, not indolent, but industrious; this was the nobility that pleased me.

Such a nobility as this, most illustrious Cromwell, have we found yours to be; pure, solid, true: full, not of paint, but of juice: made up, not so much of flowers, as of seeds: not wrapt up in smoke, and vanishing in air; but open and clear; aspiring, by firm gradations, to the highest things. You may boast yourself in this, but not grow proud. This nobility may neglect no man, and will be neglected of none: it need not desire light from you, but splendor only; it is not void of praise, but breathing out a plenitude of glory.

To nobility (which, because it is derived from others, is more frequently called theirs, than our own) I added a study of letters, by which nature should be cultivated, the mind polished and subdued, and reason sharpened. Yet this, in a person instructed for the commonwealth, and trained up for political affairs, I wished might be moderate. For, as the art of governing a commonwealth, for the most part, is active and practical; it should rather consist of counsel and prudence, than of speculative and theoretical knowledge and wisdom. It is necessary therefore for him, who is brought up to the art of ruling and commanding, to be tinged indeed with a study of letters, which may reasonably inform him, and banish ignorance and unskilfulness

ſkilfulneſs from his mind; yet not to be ſo deeply tutored, as to comprehend them abſolutely and exactly in every point. For, I know not by what means, this thorough knowledge of the ſciences, at the ſame time that it ſharpens the intellect, dulls the ſoul, and interrupts its cloſe attention to the adminiſtration of public affairs: perhaps becauſe it waſtes the ſpirits neceſſary for action, and, by gradually conſuming them, cauſes the mind, in proportion as it is deprived of them, to grow languid. Thoſe applications of the wit and mind are tender things; they do not fancy the ſun and the croud, but delight in ſhade and retirement. Noiſe and buſineſs diſturb them: they ſhrink up at the horror of arms, and are even affrighted at the bawling of the forum. Like noble and delicate maidens, they muſt rather be kept ſafe at home, than brought forth into engagements and perils. Wherefore the moſt celebrated generals of antiquity have ſo addicted themſelves to the inſtructions of their preceptors, as rather to adorn, than to profeſs, thoſe ſtudies: they have applied themſelves juſt ſo much to them, as might ſerve to nouriſh, not to overwhelm, their minds. It was this courſe that the hero Achilles held under Chiron and Phœnix; Alexander, under Ariſtotle; Epaminondas, under Lyſias; Scipio, under Panætius. And tho' Pericles, among the Greeks, and Julius Cæſar, among the Romans, may have paſſed for ſcholars; yet certainly their praiſe (whereof both obtained a very great ſhare) is compriſed chiefly in their eloquence; which conſiſts more in force and nature, than in art and precept. For this reaſon it is delivered down to us, that the one thundered when he ſpoke, and that the other pronounced every thing with the ſame ſpirit he fought with.

You, O moſt excellent Cromwell, have applied your mind to the ſtudy of letters in this manner, copying exactly what I had obſerved in theſe, and other famous captains of antiquity. You have gathered up the literary duſt at Cambridge, without deepening the tracks of learning. You have garniſhed your underſtanding

ſtanding with thoſe arts, which become a liberal nature; you have rubbed off the ruſt of your mind; you have ſharpened the edge of your wit; you have gained ſuch a character, as not to be reckoned an ill ſcholar, and fitted yourſelf, by the rudiments of the ſciences, to manage the higheſt offices of the commonwealth. You have given us, in fact, ſuch a ſpecimen of your capacity, that you may make it appear, if you was diſpoſed to go on in the purſuit of learning, how very able you are to equal the greateſt maſters; juſt as Julius Cæſar did, whoſe ſteps you ſo nearly tread in, according to the teſtimony of Cicero himſelf, that prince in every kind of learning. And in conducting the commonwealth you have choſe to imitate that Cæſar rather than Cicero, by preferring the harſh, inceſſant, and laborious employment of a general, to the delicate and ſedentary office of a ſenator. It did not become that hand to wax ſoft in literary eaſe, which was to be inured to the uſe of arms, and harden'd with aſperity; that right hand to be wrapt up in down among the nocturnal birds of Athens, by which thunderbolts were ſoon after to be hurled among the eagles which emulate the ſun.

For what belongs to their method of life, the beſt generals were always honeſt and frugal citizens; and, when their country did not want their aſſiſtance, applied themſelves buſily to domeſtic affairs, and to private difficulties, if they any way occurred. They profeſſed ethics and œconomics as the groundwork and help of politics, both in their own perſonal practice of virtue, and in the good order and example they kept up in their families. For neither will he, who cannot govern himſelf, ever keep his family in due bounds; nor will the commonwealth ever be ruled by him, who cannot tell how to order his own houſhold aright. Nor is the glory indeed leſs of being the beſt of citizens, than of being the beſt of generals; ſince the former muſt be the effect of a man's own induſtry and virtue, the latter may happen thro' the aid of the many, and is often the work of fortune. That man, in a word,

who will not deport himſelf as an orderly citizen, muſt be a dangerous man to his country. For this reaſon the beſt of men have endeavoured to approve their fidelity and affection to their country by their own manners. Thus, even in the lateſt times of Roman liberty, did the two Marci, Marcus Cato and Marcus Brutus, excel. Of theſe, O Cromwell, you have ſo imitated the manners, that you have expreſſed them to the very life.

Betaking yourſelf to your own paternal houſe, which you had received and made noble and large, and having married a moſt excellent wife, you lived, while a private perſon, in ſuch a manner as that you might paſs for a maſter of probity; not void of all vices only, which is ſome little praiſe, but full of all virtues. You delighted in a noble and generous iſſue, to whom nothing but worthy things could be acceptable. There was in them a judgment, ſteady, true, mature; which manifeſted their integrity: a ſpirit, free from luſt and avarice, which deſpiſed every thing that was mean. To theſe was added a prudence, perſuading things agreeable to reaſon. It was eaſy therefore for them to embrace virtue, and to produce it for an example to the world. As a family, formed by ſuch living leſſons, imbibes a knowledge of the moſt perfect manners, and conforms itſelf to its preceptor; there did not ſeem, to the moſt rigid Stoic, any duty wanting in it, that was founded in juſtice and equity. Cincinnatus lived not more innocently; Serranus, not more incorruptly; Cato, he that was cenſor, not more juſtly.

One might have imagined, even at this time, that he could divine what was to happen, and thus prepared himſelf beforehand for the admiration of the commonwealth. Severe, within the bounds of humanity; humane, within the bounds of ſeverity; eaſy, yet grave; moderate, yet majeſtic; ſparing, without ſordidneſs; liberal within meaſure, yet often offended at parſimony; ſo prone to bounty, that he ſeemed to repine, on ſome occaſions, that the exceſs of it was a fault.

Paul. That he might indulge more to others, he denied many things to himself; yet his indulgence never extended to licentiousness: he bridled his own anger, to correct that passion in others; and by his example restrained riot, and kept all to their duty. He cultivated friendships with eagerness, and would never rashly conceive enmities; yet was very tenacious of them when once conceived. He always allowed more to love, and less to hatred; would bear with some things, be angry at a few, and seemingly disregard a great many; and in this dissimulation he ever discovered a shrewd and penetrating wit.

With these endowments, both implanted by nature, and acquired by industry, you appeared to be born and made for the commonwealth. You prevented your dignities with your merits; and, before you obtained them, plainly shewed yourself worthy to wear them. Nor did you thrust yourself into honours, except only when the fortune of the commonwealth required your assistance. It was a religious and constant practice of the antient heroes, to wait for, and not make, occasions of helping the commonwealth; lest, being led by a study of ambition, they should seem to obtrude themselves into offices, and to set more by their own private advantages than the common concerns. And indeed an honest and good citizen ought not, uncalled, to turn statesman. But he may look upon himself as called, either when asked in the name of the people, or when the miserable state of public affairs implore his assistance. We read that Camillus acted thus, when the Senones, a people of Gaul, invading Rome, he gathered up what soldiers he could find at Ardea, whither he was banished, and with them defeated and put to flight the enemy. Cincinnatus, who was sent for from the plough to drive their enemies the Æqui from the Roman people, is not to be preferred to that [illegible]erous exile.

[illegible]he public necessity is of great weight; and greater [illegible]s the force of compassion for him who silently suffers an injury, than for him who implores our aid to

be delivered from ſuch a misfortune; ſince there is reaſon to think that the mouth of the former is ſhut up from complaining, and that he has not even the liberty of groaning out the wrong which is done him. An occaſion is offered you, and that a great one, moſt illuſtrious Cromwell, of ſuccouring the calamities of your country. I do not inquire into the reaſons of your changing the government; I only praiſe your affection for liberty, and your noble atchievements in the eſtabliſhment and confirmation of it. For though a diſcerning perſon may be more moved with the cauſes of events, than with the events themſelves; it is better for a ſtranger to abſtain from ſearching and examining into ſecret cauſes, which ought not to be raſhly traced or cenſured: it is enough for him, who could not be preſent in the councils, to ponder the events, which are perſpicuous. Yet this need not be imputed to ignorance or ſloth, but to prudence and modeſty.

Moreover, tho' it would be ridiculous to eſtimate the judgments of adviſers by events, and to meaſure either theſe by their ſucceſſes, or thoſe by their opinions; ſince it is not in our power to know what will happen: it is nevertheleſs not at all unreaſonable to acknowledge and revere certain judgments of a ſuperior providence in events, which often ſuffers counſels rightly projected to miſcarry, and ſometimes conducts actions precipitately undertaken to a proſperous exit. I do not ſay this to diſparage the cauſes of changing the government, but that I may recommend my ſenſe of the alteration; and ſo commemorate thoſe events alone, which your valour hath rendered the moſt happy. In ſo doing it will appear, that he to whom matters have ſo proſperouſly ſucceeded, employed all his ſtudies and actions, not without the divine occurrence, for the common utility *.

When

* There ſeems to be an affected obſcurity in [redacted] and the preceding paragraph, which is owing to [redacted] uncertainty people were in with regard to Cromwell's intentions upon the diſſolution of the long parliament.

When England had roused herself at the name of liberty, and her citizens began to fly together at the public signal, you, most illustrious Cromwell, persuaded yourself not to stand neuter; but to give up all your faculties and studies to one party. You had not forgot the judgment of Solon, "that if any one stood neuter in a sedition, he should be put to death." Even Cicero was moved by this sentence, when, quitting the moderation of Pomponius Atticus, he devoted himself to Pompey's party. You thought that he, who follows no party, must be proud, or covetous, or ambitious; that he endeavours to keep his own, and to turn every event to his private advantage: yet, when his country is rent into parties, such a man has no medium wherein to be secure. As you foresaw this, you engaged on the side of liberty, and brought with you a great weight of prejudice and fortune to the patrons of that glorious name. They esteemed you a Cato for the sanction of their cause, a Cæsar for their companion in war. Their cause was liked by many, because you approved it.

But when they saw you engaged in battle, every one prognosticated to you the victory. You fought mixed with princes, and was among them the prince. All admired to see so many military virtues blaze forth of a sudden, which had hitherto been hid in the bosom of your soul. So to draw up, to set the battle in array, to begin the onset, to encompass, to urge, to drive, to overthrow, to disperse the enemy, was what we had read of in books, but saw performed only by you. The endowments you discovered, were thought hardly possible to be contained in one man. As they could not be more in number, you enlarged and made them more conspicuous.

You passed gradually thro' the other military offices to that of general, lest any should assign your honours rather to fortune than desert. You arrived at them more slowly than the common wishes desired, and was dragged to dignities by a sort of violence. Yet surrounded and coveted thus on every side, your employ-

ments came on faſt and thick, as the neceſſities of the commonwealth grew up and multiplied. In a few months you atchieved ſo many great exploits, that other the moſt famous captains could hardly parallel them in whole ages. Wars ſprung out of wars, and you was abſent in none: the ſtate of affairs took different aſpects, and you looked to them all. You ſteered the helm at every break, when the commonwealth, agitated by various motions, roſe high in waves and ſurges, and when any other would have been ſwallowed up in the tempeſt.

Prudence, as well as fortitude, is requiſite in the art of war. The antients therefore feigned, that Pallas iſſued armed out of the brain of Jupiter; to intimate, that arms proſper by counſel, and judgment is to be ſtrengthened by arms: and Homer, in ſinging that war which was of all others the moſt famous, gives Neſtor to Agamemnon, and Polydamas to Priam (though one had an Achilles, and the other a Hector) that he might ſhew of what ſervice prudent counſels are, in the conducting of military affairs.

In both theſe, moſt noble Cromwell, we find you to have excelled, throughout all the wars you have undertaken. Diſcerning, ready, judicious, valiant, deliberate, expeditious, ſagacious, crafty, careful, attentive; you foreſaw every accident, prevented the meditated blow, dared the greateſt danger, eluded the moſt artful ſtratagem, embraced and improved every opportunity. Other mens councils lay open to you, but yours to none: you perceived the deſigns of all men, while no man perceived yours till he ſaw them accompliſhed. Like lightning, you ſtruck before the thunder was heard, and even before any one could diſcern the cloud big with the fiery embryo. Superior in this to the Roman Fabius, becauſe Hannibal obſerved his thunderbolts in the clouds before their irruption: none was aware of yours, but by the ſtroke, and the aſhes they left when they fell.

Great in fortitude, as in counſel, you weighed the hazards of war as if you feared them; you went thro' them

them as if you deſpiſed them. Before danger, wary; in it, undaunted. Every imputation of raſhneſs, every ſuſpicion of incapacity or negligence, you prevented by your action, your preſence of mind, and your attention to every circumſtance.

With theſe arts, whilſt yet a private captain, you firſt approved yourſelf among the generals. They could perceive you to be ſet at the head of the war; and that victory attended where-ever you charged. To obey was your firſt buſineſs, that you might bring diſcipline to the office of general, which you was ſpeedily to enter on. Nor did it ſeem a favour conferred by the commonwealth, but a reward rendered to your merit.

With what ſkill, with what intrepidity, did you fight againſt the enemy at Edgehill! by the confeſſion both of your own army and of the foe, you obtained there the pre-eminence among your brethren. At Marſton-Moor how did you ſlay, how did you diſperſe, a body of the moſt deſperate adverſaries; and, bringing back your troops from the purſuit, rout another party of them, which had broken the other wing of your own army! You, a ſingle captain only, was equal to all the troops beſide. But in that moſt famous battle fought by you at Naſeby, what an example did you give of an excellent commander, and a gallant warrior! Nor did the generals of the enemy dread you more, than your own loved and admired you. Thoſe called you Ironſides and the ſavage, theſe the waxen and the gentle Cromwell.

Your valour was not the leſs wonderful, in that it was dreaded by the enemy, than in that it was not envied by your friends. From an enemy, a man is preſerved by arms; from a rival, not even by innocence. But ſuch was the felicity of your virtue, moſt illuſtrious general, that it ſhone forth envied by none, countenanced by all. No man is uſed to envy any one, but him whom he imagines he is able to emulate: but who would dare to emulate, who would think to imitate, one that has exceeded all example? No man

that is beloved ſuffers envy. You, by your modeſty and management, have rendered yourſelf amiable to all. You arrogated nothing to yourſelf; you detracted nothing from others. The actions you demanded for your own part, but left the fame of them to your fellows; the danger was yours, the glory theirs.

Valour and favour are the two things which uſually prepare the way to the higheſt honours; but, tho' the firſt be ſufficient to deſerve, it does not always ſecure them: for when honours are to be conferred by a commonwealth, he who has not the citizens benevolence, will never be able to acquire them. Cromwell was raiſed to the higheſt honours of the commonwealth with this ſingle prerogative, that he was recommended by Fairfax, the greateſt general of the age, and appointed by the commonwealth to ſucceed him. Fairfax did not dread, that his own lights ſhould be eclipſed by the ſplendor of his ſucceſſor, nor did Cromwell doubt but he ſhould come up to the expectation which ſo great a general had raiſed. England found within herſelf an Atlas and a Hercules, with equal ſhoulders, and with equal conſtancy; both friendly and ſteady, the one in giving, the other in receiving, the burden of the commonwealth.

Having taken upon you the military command, you over-run three kingdoms with a continued courſe of victories. And what kingdoms were they? Iſlands ſhut up by the ſea, ſtored with men and arms, and fortified againſt foreign invaſions? Ireland, all over horrid and warlike, vomiting up arms and armed men: Scotland, the manſion of an unconquered nation, a martial ſchool, and even terrible in its very name: England, a generous country, the mother of heroes, the region of palms, the ſeat of laurels, the mount of trophies, whoſe hills and promontories are crowned with ſpoils gathered from her numerous enemies. Theſe nations, unpaſſable to ſo many generals, pervious to you alone the invincible Cromwell, have owned themſelves tamed and ſubdued. You over-ran, you vanquiſhed them, while another could hardly travel

travel them thro'. That which happened once to Cæſar, by reaſon of his celerity, "to come, to ſee, to overcome," happened often to you with redoubled glory. Cæſar lighted on the moſt daſtardly foes; you on the moſt rough and ſtubborn enemies. In battles, you acted like thunder; eſteemed it your buſineſs to ſtrike where there was force to reſiſt; thought it mean to hurt yielding and gentle things. You ſought for rugged and untamed natures. You, who hated delicacies at home, how could you be delighted with an effeminate victory abroad?

And as if fortune were obedient to your wiſh, ſhe choſe for you the fierceſt battles, the ſharpeſt enemies. Witneſs, to omit others, that memorable fight at Dunbar, in which you attacked, and broke, and ſcattered, a moſt well-appointed army, abounding with hardy commanders and ſoldiers, gathered from all parts of Scotland. So great was the ſlaughter of that battle, that the heaps of dead not only filled the field, but ſtagnated it with blood. Nor fell there only the bodies of the ſoldiers, but likewiſe the ſpirits of the whole nation. For that is to be reckoned a true victory, which is extended beyond the fight, which diſarms and diſpirits the living, runs on from the battle over the country, and, by the fame of it, compels cities, diſtricts, and provinces to ſurrender. Innumerable towns, forts, caſtles, ſtruck by the report, as by a piece of ordnance, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Yet the once moſt ſtrong, well-fortified, and populous city of Edinburgh, with her almoſt impregnable caſtle, offered to put a ſtop to the current of the victory. But, when ſhe ſaw Cromwell, ſhe was ſtruck on a heap, and ſubmitted. The caſtle only, truſting to her ſituation and garriſon, would not yield; and prepared new matter of military praiſe for our general. You beſieged it ſo judiciouſly, and ſo vigorouſly, that, tho' the enemy made a gallant defence, you ſoon brought them to ſubmit. In the ſame moment the ſtandards were beat down from the top of their walls, and the reſt of the neighbouring towns were ſubdued. Not more revolted,

ed, after the bloody battle of Cannæ, to Hannibal, than, after the ſtorming of Edinburgh caſtle, yielded to Cromwell. Other fortreſſes followed, as if they had been appendages to it. Where-ever your conquering forces approached, palms were growing for you. Above others ſhews itſelf the victory in Fife, won under your auſpices, and to which you opened a way by a famous adventure, ferrying over the Forth with a happy audacity.

I come to your laſt and greateſt victory, that of Worceſter, which may be compared to all the ſharpeſt battles of paſt ages. The Scots had brought together from all ſides their wealth, forces, and ſtrength, adding a new hope to their old deſpair. Ready to throw the laſt dye, they prepared to engage the more vigorouſly; to fight, firſt, for their country; then, for their honour; and, laſtly, for their lives. You, Cromwell, baffled all their attempts, broke their force, wearied out their ſtrength, diſperſed their troops, and, in one battle, finiſhed all the war. By this victory you ſubdued Scotland, tamed Ireland, freed England; refreſhed, eſtabliſhed, confirmed the commonwealth. In that day there plainly appeared to be in you as much ſkill of military affairs as you can poſſeſs, as much valour as you ſhould, as much felicity as you ought to have, when you would overcome an enemy. All, which induſtry can do, was then in your power. Fortune, who is her own miſtreſs, had devoted herſelf to you only; ſeen elſewhere to command, in your camp to ſerve, ſhe who ſuſpends wars with her own brow, obeyed the leaſt nod from you.

I remember but ſix generals in paſt times, and one of late years, who, when they had waged many and great wars, always came off conquerors. You only, added to the ſeven, can make the eighth, and be alone the compendium of them all. The magnanimity of Alexander, the valour of Camillus, the conſtancy of Scipio, the force of Cæſar, the ſkill of Beliſarius, the fortitude of Scanderbeg, the violence of Guſtavus Adolphus, all unite in you: you excel all of them, in that

that wherein they moſt excelled; and there is now ſeen in Cromwell, not only the name of a great general, but even of valour and felicity themſelves.

Martial praiſes however, though they may be more ſplendid and ſpecious, are not therefore more ſolid and excellent, than thoſe contained in works of virtue. The difficulty is greater in the exerciſe of theſe than in military affairs, ſince with other accompliſhments we may overcome others, but with theſe only ourſelves; which is ſo much the more honourable conqueſt, that ſome of the beſt orators have ſaid, "they who conquer others may ſtill be compared to men, but they who overcome themſelves are very like to God." A general who wants the virtues, tho' he may excel in military glory, will often hurt the commonwealth, or caſt a blemiſh on his own reputation. But they who have been famous both for military glory abroad, and the praiſe of virtue at home, have not only preſerved and extended the commonwealth, but alſo acquired immortal fame to themſelves. Such is the power of virtue, that men of this character muſt be not only dear to their fellow-citizens, but alſo amiable to their very enemies. Of this character, moſt noble Cromwell, do I eſteem you to be: for ſo many virtues have flowed together in you, and thoſe ſo great and ſplendid, that they ſeemed to have contended about adorning you, and, when they had adorned you, to have vied among themſelves for the primacy.

And firſt, let us conſider thoſe virtues which ſerve to reſtrain the depraved aſſaults and tumults of the mind. There is nothing leſs in our power than the affections of this ſort, which live in us. You could not help being obnoxious to theſe: but for the moſt part you ſo contained yourſelf, that, without taking away any thing from nature, you threw off much from vice, by [illegible] watching and oppoſing theſe affections, [illegible] no tokens of the conflict outwardly appeared. Who ever ſaw you elated with pride? Who ever, burning with anger? Who, inflamed with luſt? Yet occaſions of this ſort frequently offer themſelves to one who

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is a warrior, a general, and a conqueror: but in all theſe caſes you ſo carried yourſelf, as if you were only your own maſter. You commanded yourſelf, before you injoined any thing to a ſoldier. You ſuppreſſed your own anger, before you ſet right a perſon that was miſtaken, or puniſhed one that was wicked. Your mind being prepared and purged from deſires, you put away from you luſt and avarice.

For a leader of thoſe virtues which are exerciſed towards others, you made uſe of prudence: nor did you only conſider what was due to every one, but what was becóming yourſelf, and agreeable to others; nor barely perform that which was juſt, but adminiſter that which was equitable and generous. To remove an injury, to repel a force, you thought a trifling virtue; but, to lift up the miſerable, to comfort the afflicted, to enrich the neceſſitous, you reckoned was a true and ſolid kind of goodneſs; nor did you deſire to be applauded for your hatred to vices, but commended for your love to virtues.

In the higheſt licence of war nothing was lawful to you, but what was ſo in the nature of things; nothing pleaſed, except what was honeſt. You held your ſoldiers to their duty, not by force or authority, but by example. The laws of war were wrote in your countenance, they were ſilently carried about in your aſpect. Words were idle, where the leſſons were given in works. The ſoldiers never wanted of their pay, becauſe you abated of your own to make it up. They, who needed nothing for themſelves, deſired ſomething for you; you who made them not only moderate, but abſtinent. You firſt brought religion into the army, and taught your ſoldiers to war moſt againſt vices and irregular deſires.

That general will at laſt know how to deſtroy the enemy, who can find how to preſerve his [illegible]. No general was ever more tender of his ſoldiers than you. You loved them, abroad in the battle, and at home in their quarters, as your own children. You watched carefully againſt all their inconveniences, inquired

quired into their neceſſities, prevented their intreaties, forſtalled their ſighs. A man under you might be diſpleaſed, but certainly he could not complain. Did a ſoldier lie before you wounded with a random ſhot? You leaped from your horſe, ran up to him, and took a part of his grief to yourſelf. If he wanted a bed, you ſpread under him your own cloke, which, for the affection it was done with, felt ſofter than down. To another you offered your arms, and laid him, folded in them, to your breaſt, and, out of your inborn love, more nobly animated him with the throbbings of your heart. You puſhed not your horſe with greater force to the deſtruction of an enemy, than you checked and pulled him back to preſerve your own ſoldier. In the battle you inured your hand to ſlaughter; in the camp, to preſerve life. You judged no man to be your enemy, longer than he exerciſed both hatred and arms againſt you. Fighting, and unwilling to be conquered, you drove, you bore him down: fallen, and overcome, you raiſed, you cheriſhed him.

There was nothing ſo hateful to you as rapines and burnings. You thought it an impiety to rage beyond death, againſt a private perſon; beyond ſurrendry, againſt a public place. You wiſhed to take towns by capitulation, not by ſtorm. You made no man guilty through private hate, or wicked through raſh ſuſpicion, that ſo you might take vengeance of him; but rather feighned an innocence for many, that they might eſcape the puniſhments appointed for them. This one kind of diſſembling, which borders on piety, highly pleaſed you.

With theſe virtues you have extinguiſhed all envy in the foe; procured love from your friends; obtained the favour of all. What Pompey the great found, in ſevere illneſs at Naples, when the whole city ſeemed ſick, and to recover with him; that have you exconti[illegible]om your friends, when, after ſo many victories, a dangerous diſtemper aſſailed you, which was no ſooner reported over the Engliſh dominions, but ſuddenly a deep ſadneſs ſeized the minds of all, and

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the whole nation ſeemed to be in danger with you. In the wiſhes of all, life was unanimouſly decreed for you, on whom the welfare of the commonwealth was founded. You began to amend; and, being out of danger, removed the gloom from every countenance. As the world looks gay with rays every-where diffuſed over it by the ſun, ſo all England was exhilarated by the news of your recovery. Cities, forts, towns, caſtles, villages, grew warm with gratulations; both the higheſt and the loweſt leap'd for joy; and the citizen and the ſoldier alike danced and triumphed, as if the ſtrength that you had regained, had been his own property.

This, tho' great in itſelf, ſeemed to portend ſomething greater. The gods aſſenting, the citizens calling you, all the people uniting in your favour, you have aſcended to the higheſt point of military empire; not blindly and raſhly, but ſlowly and gently, through the degrees of offices and virtues; that ſo, born and formed the father of your country, you ſhould preſerve and not deſtroy it; advance, and not depreſs it; amplify, and not diminiſh it. You freed the citizens not only from fear, but alſo from ſuſpicion, when you diſſolved a parliament, compoſed of the moſt grave and wealthy perſons, becauſe it did not ſo much conſult the intereſt of the people, as to reduce the commonwealth to be ſubject to its own will. You diſcovered certain tokens of a perpetual domination; that they were minded to keep their own acquired power, and to carry on the adminiſtration of public affairs more for their own private ends, than with the conſent of the people; that they had not performed their ſolemn plighted to their country, by electing ſenators out of all the provinces, nor were likely for the future to perform it. You found more among them like Cæſar, who retained the dictatorſhip, than like Sylla, who laid it down. Fired with a love of virtue, and of your country, you flew to help it; and, becauſe the thing was full of hazard, you added might to your name, and, entering the court with the authority of a ge-

broke up a great, a rich, a full, a ſolemn parliament, in a moment.

I do not conſider here either your magnanimity, or prudence, or celerity, or felicity; but your regard to right and faith, and your ſtudy of liberty. There is nothing to be feared from that citizen, who hath ſhewn himſelf a vindicator of right, an overthrower of ambition, an expeller of impotence. He is to be cleared of all ſuſpicion, who, when he drove out others, reſolved to extirpate thoſe vices which grew up to the hurt of the commonwealth. There will be no room to fear his government for the future, whoſe arms are hurtleſs, and whoſe force is moderated. He will act more innocently in peace, who hath gone thro' the war blameleſs. He who clad in a general's robe abſtained from injury, veſted in a prince's gown will promote all manner of juſtice. He who deſerved well of his enemies, cannot deſerve ill of his country.

On you alone, moſt noble Cromwell (than whom no man dares wiſh or think of any thing more great), the riches, the fortunes, the hopes of England are all built. The looks, the eyes of all its citizens, big with the higheſt expectation, are caſt upon you. Nor is it England only, but all Europe, and the univerſal world, that turns up its thoughts to you; you, the ſole object of their minds. Poſterity, which depends on you, will not only admire your actions, but require the reaſon of them. It behoves you not only to ſatisfy your own conſcience, but alſo the expectation and deſire of the whole world. Repreſent the heroic virtues of that [illegible]n, whereof I have ſhewn you to be the example. [illegible]he greatneſs of your mind, act the Alexander; in [illegible] military ſkill, the Pyrrhus; in your valour, the [illegible]io; in your authority, the Papyrius; in your ardor [illegible]Marcellus; in your prudence, the Fabius; in your [illegible]th Hannibal; in your conſtancy, the Æmi[illegible]; in your felicity, the Cæſar. Towards your [illegible]ns, ſhew yourſelf a Camillus, a Pompey, an [illegible]aus, an Agis, an Epaminondas. Towards your [illegible]. enemies,

enemies, exhibit a Braſidas, a Lyſander, a Rutilianus, a Metellus, a Gylippus, a Luctatius. In your faith, ſtand forth a Regulus; in your abſtinence, a Fabricius; in your moderation a Curtius; in your integrity, a Cato; in your patience, a Themiſtocles; in your gravity, a Cimon. To ſum up all, INSPECT YOURSELF. You alone are ſufficient to expreſs the virtues of them all. Comport yourſelf as you have hitherto done; for you are HE, who, unleſs you deviate from yourſelf, cannot be a bad man; if you imitate yourſelf, cannot but be THE BEST.

FINIS.

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